

Public Administration



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Institute of Public Administration

PRELIMINARY NOTICE

of a Conference in conjunction with the
Metropolitan Area Education Committee
of N.A.L.G.O. and the Institute of
Industrial Administration on the subject of

“Post-Entry Training for Administration”

Papers for discussion based on the Select Committee's
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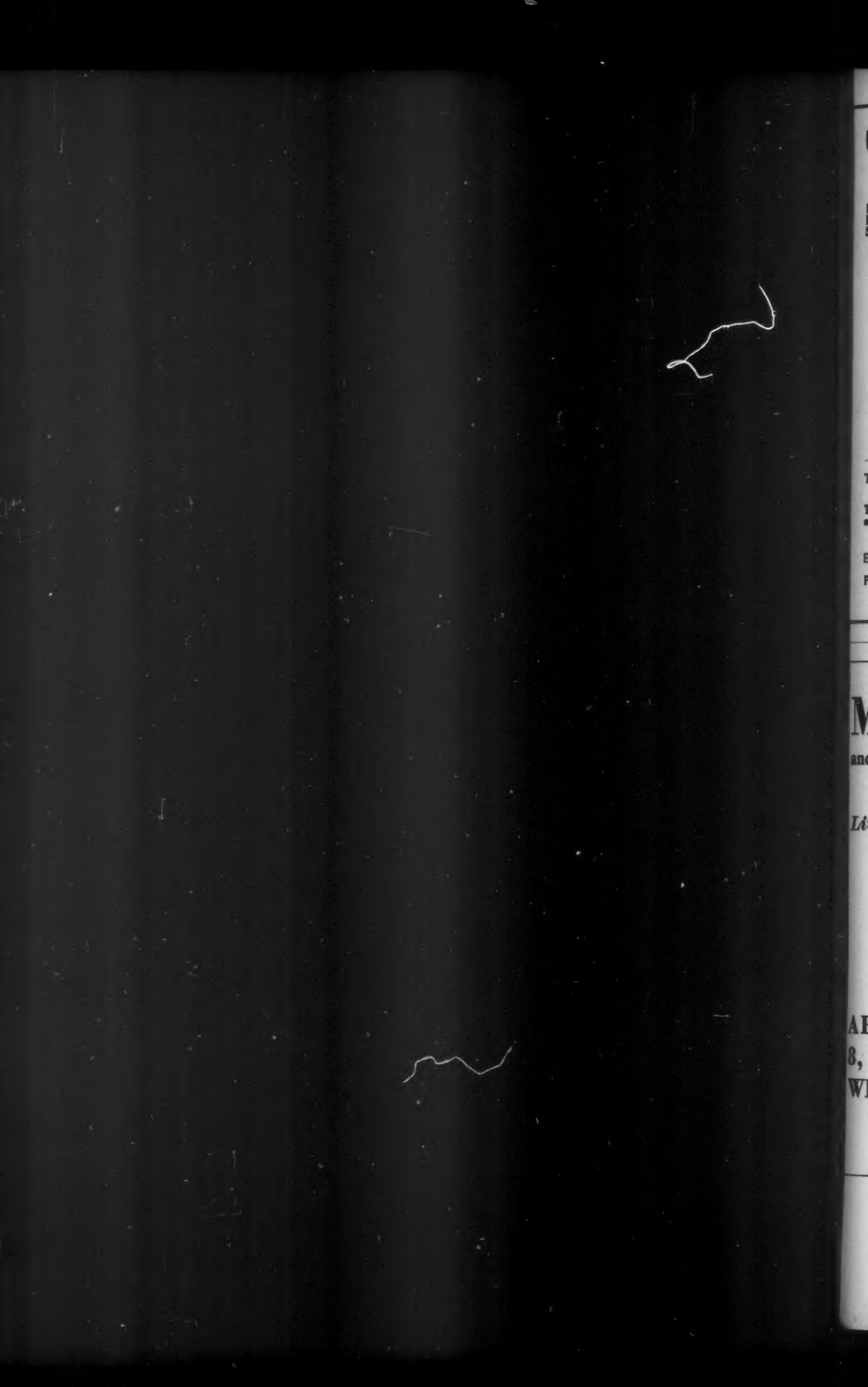
April 10
2.30 p.m.

Mr. E. S. BYNG, M.I.E.E. (Standard
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from the Industrial aspect

April 11
10.30 a.m.

Professor HAROLD J. LASKI and
Mr. L. C. WHITE (General Secretary,
Civil Service Clerical Association)
from the Public Services aspect

FURTHER DETAILS WILL BE ANNOUNCED LATER



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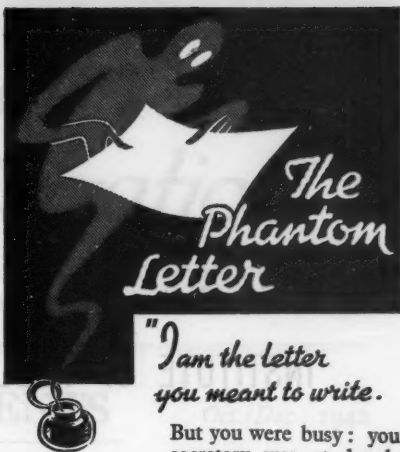
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Public Administration

The Journal of the Institute of Public Administration,
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Contributions should be addressed to THE EDITOR, PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION, Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, Westminster, S.W.1.

Books for Review should be addressed to THE EDITOR.

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REVIEWS

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British Restaurants in the North-Western Division

By MAUD GATES

"We cannot entertain you as the lordly inns on the road do and we have small change of victuals."

"I like to eat my meat in good company, sir."

WHEN, at the close of 1940, it was proposed that communal feeding centres should be established throughout the United Kingdom there was considerable shaking of heads even amongst those anxious that the experiment should succeed over the rashness of the venture.

"The English," it was said, "are passionately individual," and it is a matter for thankfulness that this is so—"eating in public is not a national habit"—but no opportunity for the formation of such habits had hitherto been provided. "Women are too proud of their cooking and too independent to buy food cooked by someone else"—but when did women say this?

At the same time it was impossible to deny the fact that urgent need existed for the provision of hot meals daily for those, and they were many, whose lives were disrupted through one cause or another—homes demolished, families evacuated or homeless, men and women engaged in munition work, and so on.

Fortunately, the post of Minister of Food was held by a man of wisdom and courage—a man, moreover, who had for the greater part of his life been brought into immediate contact with the lives of the industrial workers, and who not only understood their needs but knew how simple were the measures that would relieve them; who realised also that any scheme that contained the taint of charity would instantly be rejected. And so the experiment of communal feeding was decided upon.

This article is not a history of the development of communal feeding in this country—the time for that is not yet. Later on, when full information and figures are available, that story will no doubt be written.

This article can only claim to be a brief account of the early stages of an interesting departure from traditional methods of national and municipal administration. So far as communal feeding has been known in this country it has been organised only for the purposes of war economy. As a permanency it would, we have often been told, destroy family life—even the provision of communal facilities for the cooking of food to be eaten at home has been regarded with grave suspicion; as likely to hold within itself the seeds of this dissolution. It would produce widespread discontent among those out of reach of a centre—through its means it would be possible to eat one's rations out and to have one's rations at home, so to say; opposition would be set up by the commercial catering trade and a hundred other reasons—both reasonable and silly. An example of the latter was the fear, loudly reiterated, that women would become lazy—as if the scourge of incessant housework was necessary to prevent women from doing whatever women do when they are lazy.

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A woman of my acquaintance told me, with all seriousness, that there was a danger of this happening. "Don't you agree that it will make women lazy?" she asked, but when I asked her—she was a wealthy woman—why it was admirable in her to pay a cook to cook her meals and wrong in me, and women like me, to take advantage of a communally cooked meal—being an intelligent woman—she said "there is no answer to that question"—and truly there is no answer.

Probably the earliest form of communal cooking facilities in this country was the village bakehouse, which persists in some parts to-day. There are villages where the practice of sending, at least, the Sunday dinner to be cooked in the bakehouse is still customary, and no noticeable break in family life appears to result.

Generally speaking, however, communal feeding in this country has been tried only as a war measure. Attempts were made to establish it in the last war when what were called "National Kitchens" were set up in many towns under local Food Control Committees, but were not very successful. Those local Food Control Committees were first established in 1917 under Lord Rhondda, the Food Controller. They usually consisted of twelve persons of whom it was required that one should be a labour representative and one a woman. This modest minimum was, in practice, exceeded, because, we are told, local authorities recognised that the food question was one upon which the views of women were entitled to full expression. In 1918 Food Economy Committees were appointed for purposes of propaganda and for the setting up of National Kitchens. In a racy review of the duties of the Food Control Committees from 1917 to 1920 in the North-Western Division (roughly Lancashire, Cheshire, Westmorland and Cumberland), Mr. H. W. Clemesha, M.A., Deputy Commissioner for Food for the period, deals with the complete history of National Kitchens from their birth in 1917 to their demise in 1920 in two and a-half brief pages. "Very little success," he says, "attended the Ministry's efforts to induce local authorities to set up National Kitchens." In his view the very name of National Kitchen hindered such chance of success as the suggestion may have had.

Further down the page he goes on to say, "No doubt the scheme commended itself to certain persons such as the theoretical socialist, who was prepared on general principles to support any and every proposal for national, as opposed to individual, enterprise, for a number of these institutions were opened in various towns, but they were sickly plants and drooped and withered until in the process of time they died."

With this experience recorded it seems strange that so similar a title as community kitchens should be chosen when communal feeding was again regarded as necessary.

In September, 1940, the Ministry of Food believed that the dislocation of national and home life following bombardment could best be met by the provision of communal feeding centres, which would also help to insure against hardship caused through food being in short supply. These were first called Community Kitchens. This time, however, whether through greater necessity or increased wisdom the plant proved to be of tougher growth, and, in spite of its unfortunate christening it flourished and spread until finally it blossomed into British Restaurants. Before Community Kitchens were opened, in November, 1940, a Communal Restaurant was established by a group of private individuals to serve a block of flats in North Kensington. This was highly successful.

British Restaurants in the North-Western Division

At the same time Mr. W. B. Chrimes, C.B.E., was appointed Director of Communal Feeding to the Ministry of Food, and a department, the "War-time Meals Department," was set up to deal exclusively with communal feeding. Mr. Chrimes made a tour of big cities, calling upon the chief magistrate or the Emergency Committee, and inviting them to open communal feeding centres. All the towns visited agreed to open centres; indeed, it was found that some large towns had already commenced to prepare plans for communal feeding before they were invited to do so by the Ministry.

The Ministry followed this by pressing for the establishment of Community Kitchens in every part of the Kingdom. It aimed at no less than ensuring that all industrial workers and, indeed, every man and woman could be certain of at least one hot meal a day at a price all could afford to pay. It would then be possible to feel sure that the nation's health and strength would be maintained however long the war might last and, more important still, the fitness of the next generation would be assured.

This ideal has not yet been reached.

Whilst there are only 1,600 British Restaurants to supplement commercial cooking it cannot be said that there is provision for every man and woman. Where children are concerned, too, there is still a long way to go before the position can be regarded as satisfactory. It is a fact, however, that whilst British Restaurants were not, themselves, intended for the feeding of school children, in towns where school meals were or could readily be made available, it is probably true to say that the desire to ensure the fitness of the next generation has been the aim most consistently held in view by the Ministry. It can also be claimed that, through the medium of British Restaurants, a wide expansion of school feeding has been brought about, whether by meals served in rooms adjoining the restaurant, or carried to the schools and eaten there. In one small Lancashire town where school meals had not previously been served and where a British Restaurant was set up from which meals were supplied to schools, the Director of Education recently visited a school where a meal was in progress and asked one small girl, making her first appearance at the meal, why she had not eaten up the cabbage on her plate. She said that she had never had anything green on her plate before and thought it must be grass.

Following agreement by the larger towns, machinery for the development of British Restaurants was set up, and an order was made by the Ministry to clothe local authorities with powers necessary to establish and operate communal feeding centres. Where authorities were willing and empowered to undertake final responsibility for the financing of the facilities to be provided in their area the part played by the Ministry was simple; technical help and advice only being offered when sought. Where authorities were not prepared to accept this responsibility the Ministry agreed to reimburse local authorities for all approved capital expenditure in connection with the establishment of a centre. It was laid down that the centre should be conducted on a self-supporting basis, provision being made for necessary overhead expenses including amortisation of capital expenditure.

Further, the Ministry was prepared, provided that all stated conditions were observed, to reimburse any unforeseen operating deficiencies in the event of a loss unavoidably being incurred, the right being reserved to withdraw this undertaking on reasonable notice if the circumstances affecting a particular centre appeared to the Ministry to justify this course. Advice on planning, equipping, staffing and running centres was proffered. Nutrition experts were already at work preparing menus which would be tested for food value and continually adapted to the supply position.

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The Divisional Food Officer and his staff were charged with the duty of assisting local authorities to establish centres.

A group of eminent scientists and doctors advisers to the Ministry were to supply advice and guidance. Catering officers were appointed to help local authorities, and courses for training supervisors and cooks were arranged in various towns easy of access from all parts of the division.

This novel type of administration depended entirely for its success upon complete co-operation between central and local government on a subject on which neither side had experience and which was highly controversial. Moreover, the response of the public remained unpredictable.

Public opinion can always be used as a lever to prove anything, and on this subject, as on any other, was often quoted to serve the point of view of the speaker. Following publication of the Ministry's proposals considerable comment was made in the Press on—

- (a) the reluctance of local authorities to establish centres;
- (b) the reluctance of the public to avail itself of the service.

So far as the North-Western Division is concerned, however, it may be said that there is little evidence to support either of these assertions.

Admittedly local authorities, snowed under with circulars from all Ministries, called upon to play leading roles in spheres hitherto undreamed of, asked to feed, clothe, house and protect masses of people, without notice and with depleted staffs, hesitated in proportion to their local preoccupation, except where centres were immediately and urgently required. Development under these circumstances was bound to be unequal. Only two towns laid reluctance to assume the duties of restaurateur to the door of unhappy experience in the running of National Kitchens during the last war, whilst many authorities went to the other extreme and immediately presented schemes of great magnificence.

The public, both industrial and urban, showed the sound sense the public generally does display if given the opportunity and, with one single exception, made an immediate and often overwhelming response.

Merseyside, ravaged by persistent bombardment, moved quickly, and early opened a centre in the town. Manchester followed immediately, and many authorities, both large and small, began to prepare schemes.

The public immediately filled all the restaurants to overflowing. To take an example—the first British Restaurant, as they now began to be called, to be opened in Manchester—Bank Meadow, Openshaw—a highly congested area, had a seating accommodation of 140 and was very soon serving more than a thousand customers between 12 and 1.30 p.m. It is situated in the midst of engineering firms, not sufficiently large to be obliged to open canteens for their workers, and machining shops, where numbers of young girls work. It is a heartening sight at 12 and 12.30 p.m. to see the doors of these establishments open and streams of workers emerge and run to be first into the British Restaurant—first in first served—and queue manners are strict but good. The same people come every day, and many have been regular customers ever since the place opened almost two years ago. Many indeed pass a more recently opened restaurant on their way—they like the cooking at the old place or they meet their friends there—or they can ask that a particular pudding be made or for any other of the reasons for which anyone chooses any restaurant in which to take a meal. The comfortable theory that workers like to carry sandwiches or a pie has been completely dissipated, as the main reason for popularity given in any British Restaurant is that it is so nice to be able to get a hot meal because they are so tired of sandwiches.

British Restaurants in the North-Western Division

There is nothing to put in sandwiches just now, but even when there is, a good hot meal is more sustaining and much pleasanter. It was in this restaurant that one regular patron was felt to have satisfactorily summed up the service by his comment, "Well, it's pretty what all round, as you might say."

These early schemes were quickly followed by proposals from all parts of the division, the rate of progress being largely determined by the speed with which premises could be found. Premises, in fact, presented, and still present, the major problem. However anxious an authority may be to develop a scheme it can do nothing until premises are found that are available and capable of development. At an early stage of the war many buildings were earmarked by military or other authorities, often without the knowledge of their owners or trustees; the Ministry of Health staked out claims for Rest Centres and emergency feeding; billeting officers arranged evacuee feeding centres, and insult was sometimes heaped upon injury when likely premises proved to have been ear-marked by the Ministry of Food itself for purposes of warehousing, etc. Had it been possible to build matters would have been simplified; cost could have been approximated to seating capacity; instead, when owners and trustees have agreed, the District Valuer been interviewed re rent, earmarking notified and registered, plans and estimates drawn up and examined, technical experts consulted, structural alterations reduced to the minimum compatible with efficiency, equipment and furniture ordered, the variation in cost is bound to be considerable. There is, of course, something to be said, particularly in a small authority where local tradition is strong, for the use of a well-known building. Those who have attended openings and heard speaker after speaker tell tales of youthful experiences "inside these walls" realise that with so human a war-time service it is good that it should be housed in a building which is already a part of local life.

The successful British Restaurant is just that—a part of local life—one restaurant that had found some lovely pale pink tiles for its kitchen was discovered to be one of the sights of the neighbourhood to which all visitors were led, and in another for which some pretty pottery bowls covered with flower designs were bought in the weekly market at 4d. apiece, it was discovered that soup needed no pushing: "Can I have mine in a crocus basin," asked one man. "I like crocuses." Soup is good where valuable materials so often wasted are used up—the dark green outer leaves of cabbages and other vegetables, and anything, even crocus bowls, that help to make it popular are useful.

Decoration.—Old buildings are often grim and ugly, and decoration, again, varies greatly in cost. Where ceilings are high and scaffolding required the scheme is bound to be expensive, although the importance of bright and cheerful colouring cannot be over-estimated. Many surveyors have shown, hitherto hidden, qualities of nice taste, and excellent murals add distinction to some of the restaurants. Sometimes the School of Art in the locality collaborates, and in some cases talent is discovered amongst officials. There is one instance in the division of a deputy Town Clerk who decorated the end wall of a restaurant with a seascape, using the whole wall from side to side and floor to ceiling. The effect is very fine. He said that he was hoping to encourage holidays at home by providing the seaside, and that he had never in his life had a job more to his liking.

Another industrial town, in face of local opposition, had tables and chairs, and it was a large room and there was a lot of furniture, in bright yellow. The room was sunny, the effect beautiful, and the customers loved it.

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This happy experience is not, unfortunately, universal, and sometimes, as in a scheme recently developed, defects have to be taken with qualities. In this scheme the premises were only released conditionally upon the retention of a number of sad pictures of pillars of the Church, with massive watchchains and shaggy whiskers. "However," as the Chairman said, "we have put them higher on the walls and the idea is to keep our minds on the good food and forget the early fathers."

Attempts are always made not to interfere with buildings used for religious services unless agreement is readily given.

Where it is not possible to find premises, huts have in some cases been erected, but this is both a costly and lengthy business; materials and labour are scarce and valuable.

Arrangements for central purchasing of equipment were set up, and in view of the possible failure of services a proportion of solid fuel equipment has been insisted upon. We have grown used to touching a button and not counting the cost, and the extra work entailed in the use of solid fuel equipment is often felt to be a burden. Engineers find it hard to set up, and people otherwise trained in cooking and the use of cooking appliances seldom possess a background of knowledge of solid fuel equipment except of an exotic type.

Foodstuffs were not purchased centrally—authorities made their own arrangements, and the same privileges were allowed British Restaurants as were available to any other catering establishment. Central purchase of foodstuffs, whilst obviously advantageous for such commodities as tea, sugar and dry goods, would probably sadly have hampered the imaginative buying of the good supervisor, many of whom proved to have remarkable buying capacity.

The British Restaurants first established cooked on the premises, but in July, 1941, when extensive schemes for emergency feeding were set up to serve all towns with a population of 50,000 and over and their contiguous areas, Cooking Depots equipped for large-scale cooking and supplied with transport formed part of these plans. These Cooking Depots were usually situated in non-vulnerable positions adjacent to large towns, to which cooked food could be carried in insulated containers. It was believed that national interest would not be served if plant and equipment of such high cooking capacity lay idle, and so it was agreed that Cooking Depots should wherever possible be staffed and run by the large towns to which they were attached. Meals are now being supplied from the Cooking Depots to many British Restaurants, to schools and industrial concerns employing fewer than 250 and so not obliged to fit up canteens for workers.

All British Restaurants approved after the Cooking Depot programme got into its stride were, if they were within 10 to 15 miles radius of a depot, asked to draw their food ready cooked from the depot, and were equipped with a nucleus of cooking equipment for stand-by purposes only.

There are in the North-Western Division 140 British Restaurants in operation and 21 approved and in course of construction, 52 under consideration, and new schemes are constantly presented for approval. Approximately 42,000 meals are served daily. This by no means represents the total output of meals. It ignores meals cooked in British Restaurants and served in schools and works. One town of 180,000 population, for example, with one Cooking Depot and two British Restaurants cooked and supplied 8,000 meals daily. A second Cooking Depot has recently been partially opened, and this number increased to 9,000. Of this total only 1,200 are shown in the total of 42,000 meals served in British Restaurants. The remainder is made up of school meals and meals supplied to industrial concerns.

British Restaurants in the North-Western Division

The large majority of meals served in British Restaurants are at present cooked on the premises. As succeeding British Restaurants open, to be served from Cooking Depots, this proportion will alter as more and more meals are supplied from the Depots. The authority responsible for running the Cooking Depot is therefore likely to sell cooked meals to a number of authorities as well as supplying British Restaurants, schools, etc., run by itself. It might have been expected that delicate transactions such as these would present difficulties of administration; actually, however, this does not appear to be the case.

It is true that menus under this method may be more restricted: when cooking is done on the premises the buying capacity of the supervisor has more scope and a wider choice of dishes may be possible. Psychologically this is sound—it is human nature to enjoy choosing, and loyalty to one's own decision prevents complaint. After all, if there is a choice and one deliberately chooses and finds that choice less palatable than was expected it has been possible to choose the alternative, which other people appear to be enjoying.

The method of supply from a Cooking Depot has not been tried for a sufficiently long period for any real evidence to be available.

Considerable research is being conducted in the Nutrition Section of the Ministry and in universities on all such points as the retention of food values in food thus carried; the method has, of course, long been employed by the Board of Education for school dinners and by commercial caterers. This carriage of hot cooked food is in contrast to an interesting development in the use of such depots described in Mr. F. le Gros Clarke's memorandum on "National Communal Feeding in the U.S.S.R.," where Kitchen depots, as they are called, have not been used for actual cooking of the food supplied to national feeding centres for the past ten years. Since 1931 these kitchen depots have been used almost entirely for sending out uncooked, sometimes partly cooked foods, of all kinds, the final stages of cooking and serving taking place in kitchens at the dining centres.

Mr. Le Gros Clarke describes the work of these Soviet National Kitchen Depots where the food is prepared for cooking, the meat minced or cut, potatoes cleaned, vegetables sliced or shredded, salads cleaned and fish prepared; he shows how waste can be concentrated and how samples of all food consignments can be analysed in the chemical and bacteriological laboratories, "thus providing the filter system needed by any State authority that undertakes the responsibility of feeding a significant proportion of its population." In England communal feeding has, as has been said, been set up as a war-time measure—that is, however, no reason against its being applied in the most valuable form. Whether it persists as a permanent feature is for the people to decide; the importance of good hot meals has been demonstrated.

Lord Woolton has assured the catering trade that wherever a British Restaurant is to be established and the caterers can show that they can meet the need as well as a British Restaurant both in capacity and in price, an official of the Ministry will meet the authority and the trade, and if these points can satisfactorily be met no British Restaurant shall be opened.

The fact remains that through British Restaurants a large number of men, women and children have been able to get a good hot meal at a price they can afford to pay. It is only necessary to sit at a table and listen to obtain often shocking evidence of the need that had existed prior to the setting up of British Restaurants to understand why they are successful. A Lancashire town recently asked patrons to say what they thought of the service, and much interesting evidence was received. It may have been a little startling to read, "Now that there is a British Restaurant I do not miss my wife," but

in the main the replies were very serious, and there is something pathetic in the reiteration of "We like jam roll and custard."

From only two British Restaurants in the Division has there been reported any extensive loss of cutlery. In most of them losses have been negligible.

The financial side, too, is regarded as satisfactory. Lord Woolton's estimate that it takes approximately six months for a British Restaurant to find its feet is being borne out by experience. With very rare exceptions the service is fully paid, although, in many cases voluntary help is given, particularly by the W.V.S., in the setting up and early stages. In the majority the helpers are paid at the Whitley Council rate of pay in the locality, whilst supervisors and catering managers are paid according to the size of the undertaking. For the latter officers some remarkably good people have been discovered, able to introduce interest and variety into menus and to serve large numbers of meals in a short time and still be ready to meet an emergency. Visiting one restaurant after a minor crisis I was passing through the kitchen with the supervisor when her eye was caught by a piece of pastry lying on a pastry board. "What's that?" she asked. It had been, she was told, left over from a pie just put into the oven for staff dinner. "Well, don't waste it," she said, "make it into a lily and put it on top of the pie." After what she had just gone through the only use I could have seen for a lily would have been to adorn my grave and I gazed upon her with awe and admiration.

The time is probably ripe, in these days of the taking of direct evidence, for the collection of consumers' reactions, but it would be a big job. Mr. Le Gros Clarke in another publication, "The School Children and the School Canteen," persuades children to speak for themselves in essay form. A different technique would be necessary to get adults to speak as freely as the little girl who says she goes home to dinner because, "Funnily enough I like foods which I should not have much of and I dislike foods which I should have. I eat both because I have to." Still it should be possible and it would be useful. And it may be that we should find that British Restaurant customers hope that they have come to stay.

It may even be that the standard set may prove useful in the task that lies ahead in the reconstruction of Europe.

The figures quoted in this Article are up to September, 1942.

Co-ordination of Electricity Distribution—Are Economies Possible?

By C. R. WESTLAKE, M.I.E.E.

General Manager and Engineer, Electricity Department, Finchley

THERE can be no doubt that on the cessation of hostilities there will be an early re-appearance of proposals for the reorganisation of electricity distribution on regional lines.

It will be remembered that the Government dealt with this problem shortly before the outbreak of hostilities, and that the then Ministry of Transport issued a White Paper which set out in broad lines the proposed scheme of regrouping.

It is not the purpose of this paper to advocate regional control of electricity distribution or otherwise, but to deal with the question of what, if any, economies are likely to result from adopting this method.

There can be no doubt that there is a large body of public opinion, not necessarily well informed, against the grouping of undertakings, and it is clear that such a step should not be taken only to secure an administrative ideal. There must also be the certainty that the public will reap from regional control better service and lower tariffs, and it is obvious that before lower tariffs can be offered working costs must be reduced.

If it is claimed that the co-ordination of distribution will reduce working costs and therefore bring in train reduced tariffs to the consumers, it may also be necessary to show that the reductions in tariffs are worth while; that the disturbance which will occur in a number of spheres will produce a result which the ordinary man will appreciate upon receiving his quarter's bill for electricity.

Reduced costs can come about principally in two ways. Firstly by increasing the sale of current, thus enabling more units to be sold per £ of capital expenditure, and secondly by the reduction of operating costs.

For the purposes of this paper, therefore, three main questions emerge:—

- (i) Will electricity be cheaper to the merging body (hereafter referred to as the "Regional Undertaking")?
- (ii) Will the bulk purchase of engineering and other materials result in lower costs at the final stage of use?
- (iii) Will administration and management cost less?

ELECTRICITY SUPPLY

The question of whether the regional undertaking will be able to purchase electricity more cheaply than the sum of the individual constituents is not an easy one to answer. The comments which follow assume that the present arrangements for the purchase of bulk supplies will continue, and would be affected possibly by the siting of new power stations some time in the future, or by special arrangement made between regional undertakings co-operating on a national basis with the Central Electricity Board.

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Broadly speaking, electricity supplies are bought by undertakings on one or more of the following bases:—

- (i) Direct from the Central Electricity Board;
- (ii) As a selected station owner;
- (iii) From other authorised undertakers giving bulk supplies.

In the grouping of existing undertakings it is evident that there may be a number of differing combinations of the above types of supply. It may be, for instance, that where seven undertakings are to be grouped there may be one selected undertaking, three taking supplies on the Grid tariff, and three receiving bulk supplies from undertakers who, in turn, may not be members of the new group. It is clearly not possible within the scope of this paper to deal with all the possible combinations.

All regional undertakings will, however, have this in common, that they have brought together a number of undertakings, each possessing a principal point or points of supply which may or may not be connected electrically and upon which considerable capital expenditure has been incurred either by the Central Electricity Board or the undertakings, or both. To reduce the number of metering points would involve the regional undertaking in considerable capital expenditure.

There are two ways in which the Central Electricity Board or bulk supplier can supply electricity at a lower cost. The first is the obvious one, that is by a direct reduction in the tariffs, or, secondly, by the reductions which are inherent when supplies are taken on a two-part tariff brought about by improved load factor.

It is not easy to see how the regional control of distribution will enable the Central Electricity Board to make direct reductions in the tariffs and certainly not in the immediate period following the reorganisation of distribution.

The regional control cannot be a direct means in the reducing of the cost of generation to any appreciable extent, and only then by improvement in the load factor of the demand.

It does not appear that the Central Electricity Board would permit a regional authority to benefit by the diversity of demand between the different supply points in the new area. To do so would merely reduce the revenues of the Board without any benefit being received by them. Had this been possible it would perhaps have been one of the strongest arguments which could have been used in favour of co-ordination.

To illustrate this more clearly, a reference to Northern Ireland may prove helpful. The Northern Ireland Government decided some twelve years ago to co-ordinate distribution throughout most of the province. Undertakings were acquired and connected to a bulk supply transmission line owned and operated by the Board and supplied from one principal point. The towns and villages connected were varied in type from seaside to agricultural, together with a fair amount of industrial load.

The wide diversity of load thus obtained resulted in a very high load factor, and this in turn was improved by the considerable distance in miles between the eastern and western boundaries of the area. This latter consideration had the effect of flattening the peak of the lighting demand.

The resulting high load factor obtained in Northern Ireland materially reduced the costs of electricity supply. As previously mentioned, however, in this country it does not appear that such a benefit can be derived owing to the existing circumstances of bulk supply transmission.

Co-ordination of Electricity Distribution

Clearly then, if reduced costs are to be obtained by the regional undertaking, it will not be by means of a direct reduction in the Grid Tariff, and other avenues must be pursued.

The main alternative is by improving the load factor of each of the constituent members of the regional authority as though they were continuing to operate separately. There is no doubt whatever that this can be done, for in any combination of undertakings there will be those that are efficiently and progressively managed and those that are not so well managed.

It must be borne in mind that it is to the possibility of purchasing electricity supplies at lower prices that regional undertakings must principally look to enable them to reduce tariffs to their consumers.

From the foregoing it will be seen that it is difficult to assess what reduction will result under this heading.

BULK PURCHASES

The second major question is—will the bulk purchase of engineering and other materials result in lower costs at the final stage of use?

A great point has been made by the protagonists of regional control that the bulk purchase of equipment and materials will considerably reduce capital and operating expenditure.

Whilst superficially it appears that this is a reasonable anticipation, a careful examination of the matter reveals that it is by no means a certainty that the benefits expected will be achieved.

The regional undertaking, once constituted, has, with regard to the supply of stores (and by the term stores is meant the whole range of purchases, except heavy engineering equipment) to decide whether to have the stores delivered to a central point and then re-deliver to area and district stores, or on the other hand to have goods delivered to district stores direct and save re-delivery charges.

In determining this problem the regional undertaking will of course have regard to the type of area served, and whether the distances to be covered are relatively great.

It necessarily follows that suppliers of stores will quote lower prices for larger quantities. It is important to be quite clear why they are able to do this. They are able to do it because it is cheaper to produce in large quantities; warehousing and despatch costs are lower, and generally all on-cost charges are reduced.

The regional undertaker, however, must remember that there is a danger that one of the charges which the supplier evades by bulk delivery of goods to a central point may have to be borne by the regional undertaker in the re-distribution of the goods. Re-delivery from the central point would involve the regional undertaking in heavy additional costs, and it may be that the cost of buildings, transport, clerical and warehouse labour might well outweigh any saving in a lower initial price. If the problem is fairly faced it may be found that the existing arrangement for the reception of stores might be more economical.

Broadly speaking, therefore, the writer is of the opinion that the benefits which are said to be likely to accrue from bulk purchasing are over-estimated. The writer has no doubt whatever that the larger the undertaking the greater in proportion are the costs of stores administration. The larger the undertaking, the greater the variety of forms to be filled in, of persons to be advised, returns to be made. It is the sum total of these costs which minimises the value of the initial lower costs of purchasing of goods.

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ADMINISTRATION

The third and last question is—will administration and management cost less?

In this connection it may be helpful to look at existing forms of control and consider whether any one form has so much to commend it on the score of economy that it is unquestionably the right form of control for the future.

The three principal forms of control are:—

- (i) Company;
- (ii) Local Authority;
- (iii) Public Board.

In looking at the question of control it is not proposed to deal with the merits from the development point of view, but purely from the question of whether one type of control is more economical than the other, and whether, in fact, the consumer under one receives lower tariffs than under the other because of lower administration and management charges.

Many people in considering electricity supply are apt to overlook the fact that it is just as much a business concern as a multiple store or any other kind of business.

There is a tendency amongst public authorities to look at it in the same light as public health services, education and so on, and to imagine that the administration of it can fall into parallel lines with rate-borne services. Nothing is further from the truth.

This being so, it has to be admitted that company management has much to be said for it. The board of directors of a company of an electricity undertaking not infrequently includes men who have long been in the electricity supply industry and frequently are engineers of some standing.

Companies appear to omit many of the checks on the integrity, honesty and carefulness of every member of the staff so common with public authorities and which, in turn, are so costly. Also, companies make decisions on policy and other matters without the tedious delays inherent in public control.

Under company control the accountant is the servant of the management and not usually its master, and an examination of management costs of a company does not show any excessive tendency, indeed, under company control the reduction of working costs is a constant care.

The greater number of undertakings in Great Britain are under local authority control, and this form of control has had almost fifty years of testing.

Under local authority control it is exceptional to find a member of the electricity committee who is a competent electrical engineer and possesses a knowledge of electricity supply economics, but frequently an electricity committee possesses amongst its members men of sound business experience and, of course, comprises a variety of types of consumers who are able to assess the value of electricity supply for a variety of purposes.

In a local authority, therefore, the engineer and manager has considerable scope for his own individual ideas, and in undertakings where the finance department have not been given authority over the tariffs or over the trading operations of the undertaking, very satisfactory results have, on the whole, been achieved. There again, the management costs compare very favourably with any of the other forms of control.

The third type of control is by a public board, of which there are two principal types in Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Co-ordination of Electricity Distribution

In Great Britain the public boards divide themselves into two classes:—

- (i) joint electricity authorities; and
- (ii) joint boards.

In each of these cases the board is made up of representatives from other local authorities, but in the case of joint electricity authorities company representatives are also eligible for membership.

The Electricity Board for Northern Ireland, on the other hand, is constituted similarly to that of the Central Electricity Board, and the members of the Board are appointed by a Minister who, in turn, is responsible to the House of Commons.

There appears to be a considerable difference in the cost of administration and management amongst public boards. The Ayrshire Electricity Board, for instance, has extremely low management costs, whereas those of the Electricity Board for Northern Ireland are, in comparison with most undertakings, very high.

Each form of control has its own individual merits, but on balance the writer is of the opinion that public boards cannot show lower costs of management.

Under the White Paper proposals it would appear that a continuance of all these forms of management is envisaged with the exception that at some distant date company control will disappear and give place to public control.

The writer is of the opinion that so far as economy in administration and management is concerned, the type of management does not matter very much. The costs of administration and management are matters which are normally the principal concern of the manager in charge of the undertaking.

The contact which a board of management or electricity committee has with the day-to-day operations of its undertaking is so remote and their interests are so much concerned with policy and finance that, unknown to them, over a period of years, a system of management may evolve which may be unnecessarily expensive and not necessarily efficient. So much depends upon each permanent official.

Of late years there has been a tendency to remove the control of the day-to-day activities of the undertaking from the engineer and give it either to the secretary or the accountant. The writer has reason to believe that this may lead to an increase in administrative costs.

It cannot, of course, be argued that because a man is an electrical engineer and because the principal activities and expenditure of an electricity undertaking are mainly of a technical nature, an engineer is necessarily the best man to control an electricity undertaking. Still less can it be maintained that, because a man is an accountant or a secretary, or a lawyer, he is more suitable.

The first qualities which should be possessed by a general manager of an electricity undertaking are those common to the controllers of any large business, *i.e.*, he must be a good administrator, a sound organiser, a good judge of character and a man of vision. If an engineer does not possess these qualifications then he is unsuitable for such an appointment, and the lack of them equally unfits any other of the professions enumerated. If, however, an electrical engineer possesses these additional qualifications there can be no doubt that he is the best man for such an appointment, and the result would doubtless be a more economical administration.

The amalgamation of existing undertakings will bring new administrative problems, and the writer affirms without any hesitation that if amalgamation leads to a high degree of centralisation of control then the costs of central

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administration will be considerably higher than the aggregate of the costs previously incurred by the undertakings operating separately.

To effect economies under co-ordinated control it is of the utmost importance that the units amalgamated should to a very large extent continue to be autonomous, and the amount of paper and record work passing between the district and area offices and the headquarters of the regional undertaking should be reduced to a minimum. Unfortunately experience in the past does not give hope that this will be done.

It is common experience that where amalgamation has taken place there instantly springs up a system of control of expenditure, of stores, and of accounts, which in turn involves endless reports and the completion of forms. These again require large clerical staffs to deal with the completion of them and filing. Each of the principal departments then builds up a large staff who have a vested interest in the continuance of methods which may have little or no value, or at least an insufficient value to justify their existence.

In this matter the engineering side is the least guilty! The principal departments responsible for elaborate returns and records are the secretariat and the accounts, the most guilty of all being the accounts department. The accountant immediately thinks of centralised accounts, of central buying, of central control of wages. These call for costly machinery, and no one thereafter appears to be interested in the expense involved and whether the ends justify the means.

The writer is of the opinion that if economies in administrative costs are to result from co-ordination of distribution a very careful examination is necessary of administrative methods, and he has no doubt that it will be found that cheapness and efficiency lie in the decentralisation of the major part of the administrative work.

In conclusion the writer is of the opinion that regional control of electricity undertakings is desirable, but he doubts whether the economies effected will be of such a magnitude as to enable the consumer to purchase electricity at a price lower than that which at present obtains, and that the benefits to be derived from regional control lie principally in better service to the consumer and the extending of electricity supplies to rural areas.

Social Security : Administrative Machinery and Problems

The Beveridge Report proposes the creation of a Ministry of Social Security with its own local offices to administer all social insurance and assistance services, but it contains no detailed discussion of the structure and functioning of such a Ministry. The memorandum of evidence submitted to the Beveridge Committee by P.E.P. (Political and Economic Planning, 16, Queen Anne's Gate, London, S.W.1) which also suggested a Ministry of Social Security, devoted considerable space to the administrative problems which would be involved. With P.E.P.'s permission we reprint a number of extracts from their memorandum, which was published as Planning No. 190 (14th July, 1942) under the title "Planning for Social Security."

A MINISTRY of Social Security, to take over administration of all income-maintenance services, would be built up by absorbing the personnel and the functions of a number of existing public and private agencies. Chief among these would be the Ministry of Labour's department for Unemployment Insurance; the pension services of the Ministry of Pensions, the Ministry of Health and Customs and Excise, and the local Pension Committees; the Ministry of Health's National Health Insurance work, the local Insurance Committees and the Approved Societies; the Workmen's Compensation and burial insurance activities of insurance companies and similar bodies; the whole of the Assistance Board; and all the work of the Ministry of Health and local authorities relating to Public Assistance, except such constructive Public Assistance services as would be best administered by other agencies (e.g., Poor Law hospitals, orphanages, etc.). The Ministry should be responsible for two new services: a children's benefit (family endowment) scheme and a funeral benefit scheme. The Ministry's funds might continue to be raised as income-maintenance funds are at present raised—partly from State grants, partly from local authority rates, partly from workers' and employers' contributions and partly from special charges on employers. But we should prefer in the long run to see all these methods of financing social security superseded—except for certain charges on employers by the one method of a direct tax on *all* incomes. The new Ministry should have at its disposal one national Social Security Fund to which all income-maintenance payments, whether to relieve distress or to enhance security, whether routine or non-routine, should be chargeable.

The local administrative unit of the Ministry would be a single Social Security Office, which would have routine departments for direct administration of (1) children's benefits, (2) pensions, and (3) funeral benefits. Administration of (4) routine unemployment benefits would have to be carried out at the local Employment Exchange. Similarly, we hope that the institution of Health Centres would make it possible for (5) routine incapacity benefits to be administered through a special office at the local Health Centre; but until Health Centres were established these benefits would have to be administered by a department of the Social Security Office. A highly important part of the Social Security Office would be (6) the Social Welfare Department, for every type of individual case work. There should be ample scope for regional

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administration of certain special services (*e.g.*, institutions) and for regional supervision of the administration as a whole. Locally, regionally, and nationally the work of the new Ministry would have to be closely co-ordinated with the work of the Ministries of Labour and Health, of local health authorities, and, to a lesser degree, with the work of the Board of Education and of local education authorities.

Co-ordination of the Ministry's work with that of other Ministries should begin at the top, with co-ordination of Ministers at the political level. We strongly favour the war-time practice of regular meetings of Ministers to consider common problems. A Ministerial Executive—consisting of the Ministers of Social Security, Labour, and Health, and possibly the Minister of Education—should be a regular institution, maintaining its own permanent Secretariat.

A SOCIAL SECURITY COMMISSION

A broad degree of stability and continuity in the administration of income-maintenance services is a vital necessity. Ministerial changes due to political vicissitudes tend to make for instability; but this problem is not solved by substituting a Board for a Minister. The work of the Unemployment Insurance Statutory Committee has demonstrated the valuable possibilities of attaching to a Minister a "brains trust" free of administrative responsibilities, but endowed with more than advisory functions. A Social Security Commission should stand in broadly similar relations to the Minister of Social Security. The Commission's functions might be:—

- (1) To keep the financial condition of the Social Security Fund constantly under review, reporting to the Minister at least once a year;
- (2) To advise the Minister on any matters referred by him to the Commission;
- (3) To report to the Minister (or to Parliament) on such proposals for new legislation or administrative regulations as he might be statutorily required to submit to the Commission prior to consideration in Parliament;
- (4) At its own discretion to conduct special investigations, to make recommendations to the Minister, and to consider representations on matters of policy from interested parties;
- (5) To be responsible for appointing an inspectorate to check the efficiency and humanity of the Ministry's administration, and for appointing local and national appeal tribunals or other machinery for settling disputes between the Ministry and its clients.

The Commission could estimate Social Security expenditure over five- or ten-yearly periods, and might have certain powers to regulate rates and allowance scales. Its reports should be laid before Parliament, and the Minister should be obliged to explain any departures from the Commission's recommendations he proposed to make, both in financial and other spheres of policy. On all major issues of policy the Commission might be required to invite representations from any interested party. By informal liaisons with other Ministries it could assist co-ordination at the administrative level.

Before considering the financing of the Ministry's services and their local administration, the field which should be covered by a Ministry of Social Security must first be examined. We recommend (1) financial and administrative divorce of medical services from the income-maintenance system; (2) administration by the Ministry of all incapacity cash benefits; (3) assump-

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tion by the Ministry of the income-maintenance functions of Workmen's Compensation; (4) a Joint Board of the Ministries of Social Security, Labour and Health to administer or supervise services for industrial health and safety, and for rehabilitation and retraining of injured workers; and (5) a State funeral benefit administered by the Ministry of Social Security. . . .

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

The local administrative unit of the Ministry in each convenient centre of population should be a single Social Security Office. As far as possible all local income-maintenance services should be operated from this one office. But in certain important respects delegation of functions from the Social Security Office to other local agencies would be essential. The four major functions of any income-maintenance agency are: In routine cases, (1) ascertainment of an individual's right to a routine benefit (fulfilment of statutory qualifying conditions, etc.); in non-routine cases, (2) investigation of individual needs and circumstances (case-work, home-visiting, etc.), and (3) the taking of decisions as to treatment; and in both types of case, (4) the actual payment of cash allowances. To carry out these functions with maximum effectiveness administration would best be based on a triad consisting of the local Employment Exchange, the local Health Centre, and the local Social Security Office.

The Employment Exchange, as at present, should have the function of registering and placing unemployed workers, of ascertaining an individual's right to routine benefits, and of making all cash payments (routine or non-routine) in respect of unemployment. (The case-working department of the Social Security Office would replace the Assistance Board as the agency deciding the fate of unemployed workers not entitled to routine benefits). Similarly, all payments of cash benefits in respect of any type of incapacity requiring medical supervision would best be made through a special office (a department of the Social Security Office) situated at the Health Centre; and this office would also have the function—now performed by the Approved Society—of ascertaining an individual's right to routine cash benefits. For supervision of claims and home-visiting the health centre's social workers would be at the disposal of the incapacity benefit office. If health centres are not established—and in any case during the transition period from individual medical practice to health centre practice—the incapacity benefit office would have to be located in the Social Security Office, which would have to employ its own sick-visitors.

The Social Security Office

All other forms of income-maintenance work would be operated directly through various departments of the Social Security Office. Claims to routine benefits other than those for unemployment or incapacity (*i.e.*, family endowment, pensions, funeral benefits, etc.) would be handled here. Cash payments might also be made at the Social Security Office, or, when convenient, at the Post Office. All individual investigation of non-routine cases and all decisions as to the treatment of such cases should be the responsibility of a special case-work department of the Social Security Office, employing properly trained social workers. But investigation of all cases under medical supervision could be conducted by health centre social workers.

The Local Touch

The spirit and quality of the work performed by such a national administration would depend on the imagination, ability, and vigour of the Minister,

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permanent staff, and advisers at the apex, on its local flexibility, and on the quality and training of its local personnel. The most difficult problem is that of local flexibility and participation of public-spirited local citizens in the work of a national agency. Two types of machinery would be necessary: (1) A system of local administrative tribunals for settling disputes between the Ministry's officers and its applicants, and (2) a system of local advisory bodies to assist the Ministry's officers in all matters involving the use of discretionary powers, to bring the Ministry's officers into close touch with local opinion, and to keep them well informed about local problems and conditions. "Indirect supervision of the discretionary power of the local official by a nominated, if representative, Advisory Committee, and the possibility of an ultimate appeal by a dissatisfied applicant to an Appeal Tribunal, may well be a better safeguard of 'impartial justice' than reliance on the usual system, under which patronage for political purposes is possible."¹ The Courts of Referees associated with Unemployment Insurance and the Appeal Tribunals attached to the Assistance Board have shown the value of such flexible, informal dispute-settling bodies. Similarly the Ministry of Labour's local Employment Committees and the Assistance Board's local Advisory Committees have demonstrated some of the possibilities of drawing local citizens into constructive co-operation with the officers of a national agency—as advisers, as informal welfare workers, as public relations officers, as humanisers of administration.

Opportunities for Active Citizenship

The Social Security Office should have its Advisory Committee chosen from a panel of persons experienced in social problems and social service, with regular sub-committees to deal with particular branches of the office's work. The Minister should have the power to oblige his local officers to ask for the recommendations of their Advisory Committees on appropriate questions of principle involving the exercise of discretionary powers, and the Committees should be free to initiate discussion and tender advice on matters of principle. The Committees should not have power to over-ride an officer's decisions, but they should be able to challenge decisions taken against their advice by appeal to Regional Advisory Committees and ultimately to the Social Security Commission itself. (Responsibility for final decision would naturally rest with the Minister.)

Efficient working of a reconstituted system of voluntary appeal tribunals and advisory committees will ultimately depend on the policy and spirit of national administration, on official encouragement of voluntary service, and on measures to make voluntary service easier than it has been in the past. If a large body of "good citizens" strongly disapprove the methods or objectives of the Ministry's national policy, tribunals and advisory committees may be weakened by their refusal to participate. If the advisory committees are not given work of value and required to meet at regular intervals, so that they are made to feel that their functions are not important and their services not appreciated, they will remain lifeless bodies unable to attract the ablest people. If many of those most suited to sit on tribunals and committees are debarred from doing so because the sittings clash with their regular work, those bodies will tend to be dominated by the leisured and the retired, and will lack the experience of those actively engaged in the day-to-day work and life of their community. A statutory right to take all necessary time off from work without loss of pay is the probable solution both for this problem and for the wider problem of opportunities for active citizenship of which it is a part. . . .

¹ A. L. Fleet in "Advisory Bodies: A Study of their Uses in Relation to Central Government, 1919-1939" (1940).

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THE SOCIAL WELFARE DEPARTMENT

The Social Welfare Department of each Social Security Office should be a single "omnibus" case-working agency for the income-maintenance services as a whole. It would be built up out of a fusion of the Assistance Board and Public Assistance services, but would undertake functions not adequately performed by either of these agencies. It would have to handle all long-term cases of unemployment and incapacity, all problem individuals requiring supplementation of routine benefits or falling through "gaps in the net," and other "residual" cases. To function effectively the department's work must be skilled, constructive, flexible, and discretionary. This requires well-trained social workers and officers, and participation in the department's work of public-spirited citizens and voluntary organisations for personal service (as distinct from mere charity). The department might be split into four divisions (unemployment, incapacity, pensions and emergency), each with its specialised officers, assisted by a sub-committee of the Social Security Office's Advisory Committee.

The Unemployment Division would deal with all unemployed problem individuals. Its advisory sub-committee should include an official of the Employment Exchange. (1) It would consider applications for supplementation of routine unemployment benefit. (2) It would deal with cases of genuinely out-of-work individuals who were not previously working under a contract of employment. (3) It would similarly deal with able-bodied, childless young widows—referred to it by the Pensions Division—whose terminable pensions had come to an end and who applied for assistance. In cases (2) and (3) the division should have power to award a free period on routine unemployment benefit when it thought fit. (4) It would deal with all cases of unemployment workers who had exhausted their routine unemployment benefit rights. It should have the power to recommend individuals for training and/or transfer, or to arrange any other appropriate treatment. It would award unemployment allowances (payable at the employment exchange) according to means and needs on a scale derived from the Human Needs standard, attaching such conditions as it thought fit. Cases of doubtful employability might be referred to interviewing panels or medical boards, or transferred to the Incapacity Division.

The Incapacity Division, similarly, would deal with all incapacitated problem individuals. Its advisory sub-committee should include a doctor from the Health Centre. (1) It would deal with all cases of incapacity not entitled to routine benefits, and with cases of doubtful employability referred to it by the Unemployment Division. Using the Health Centre's social workers for personal investigations, the division should be free to make any appropriate arrangements for welfare, services and income-maintenance. It would recommend some individuals for reconditioning, vocational training or work-support. Other cases it would refer to a medical board for possible certification as permanently unfit for gainful work; and it would award permanent incapacity pensions or other appropriate social service incomes. (2) The division would consider applications for supplementation of routine benefits (incapacity benefits or pensions, etc.). (3) It would deal with all "residual" cases, and should have the power—e.g., in the case of incapacitated widows who had exhausted their terminable pensions—to award free periods on routine incapacity benefit when it thought fit.

The Pensions Divisions, similarly constituted, would look after widows and old age pensioners. It would have the same functions of supplementing routine benefits where necessary, and of handling such "residual" cases as

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old people not qualified for routine pensions. It would consider all applications for assistance from widows who had exhausted their terminable pensions, referring some to the Unemployment Division, others to the Incapacity Division, and dealing with the rest itself. The division should play an important part in promoting schemes for the welfare of the aged, and in drawing voluntary agencies into such work.

The Emergency Division would be responsible for all other cases and for preliminary sifting of doubtful cases. This preliminary sifting might be best carried out through some kind of "centre table" or general inquiry counter (staffed by skilled workers) to which all applicants who were in doubt might be directed. Alternatively it might be done through the agency of a Citizens' Advice Bureau.

Advice for Citizens

Room might well be found in every Social Security Office for a Citizens' Advice Bureau; but since the Bureau is a link between the citizen and the statutory authorities, it would be desirable that it should *not* be controlled or staffed by the statutory authorities. Apart from its highly important functions of informing and advising citizens about their rights and obligations, the Bureau could be used to refer applicants for assistance to the appropriate room in the Social Security Office, just as it would refer other persons to other branches of the social services.

Personnel

Far more important than the internal structure of such a case-working department is the spirit in which it does its work. Its prime concern should be individual rehabilitation rather than mere relief of financial need. The means test should be incidental to its main purpose rather than the *Leitmotiv* of its work. The Social Welfare Department could never work in a genuinely constructive fashion if it were to be perpetually swamped with over half a million able-bodied unemployed workers from problem industries, and with over a million old age pensioners in need of a few extra shillings. Economic reconstruction will have to ensure, by eliminating "general" unemployment, that the long-term unemployed can be kept to something near the record war-time minimum of 41,000 cases receiving unemployment allowances. A body of unemployed problem individuals of about this size would present no particular difficulty to an "omnibus" case-working agency. And a really adequate system of routine benefit services could reduce the number of individuals and families genuinely requiring personal case investigation to numbers which would make skilled case-work possible. If these conditions were fulfilled the Social Welfare Department would have a problem which could be constructively tackled.

Its case-working personnel would have to consist of properly trained skilled social workers who understood that individual rehabilitation requires a far higher technique of social work than is needed for mere investigation of financial means and needs. Social work in Britain is still, by and large, a neglected and underpaid profession. The Ministry of Social Security should make it its long-term target progressively to improve the material standards and the quality of its personnel. In the short run a good deal could be done by training courses for the personnel which the Ministry would take over from the Assistance Board and from Public Assistance authorities, and by absorbing the best workers from charity organisations who might be displaced once a really adequate system of public income-maintenance services were established. Agents and employees of Approved Societies and similar bodies might

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be useful for employment in the incapacity offices of health centres and in the Social Security Offices' departments for funeral benefit, family endowment, etc. There should be a regular channel of recruitment for men and women who have become trained social workers after years of practical experience in industry and other fields of *non-administrative* life. There would have to be a big development of training facilities for social workers, and it will have to be recognised that the work of directing an employment exchange or a local Social Security Office is as highly skilled as the work of directing a hospital or a health centre. It should become normal rather than exceptional for University graduates (with the proper practical experience) to fill such posts. . . .

INDUSTRIAL HEALTH AND REHABILITATION BOARD

It might be necessary to retain a separate but completely overhauled system of Workmen's Compensation to pay the injured worker compensation in addition to his incapacity benefit. If so, the scope of such a scheme should not be extended to include provision of medical services. Very few of the medical services necessary for workers suffering from industrial injuries or diseases are required exclusively for such cases. It is more efficient and more economical to provide all such facilities as elements in a unified system of medical services available to every member of the population on the basis of common citizenship. A really constructive approach to the problem of industrial casualties demands expansion, improvement and co-ordination of services in three fields: (1) protection, first-aid and other medical work, and inspection at the workplace; (2) medical services for diagnosis, treatment, rehabilitation and research outside the workplace, and transport facilities for casualties; and (3) services for vocational training and social rehabilitation. The second group of services would be part of our general medical services; the first and third groups might be best supervised or controlled by a special joint agency set up by the Ministries of Health and Labour in collaboration with the Ministry of Social Security. An Industrial Health and Rehabilitation Board, set up by the three Ministries and including independent experts and persons drawn from workers' and employers' organisations, might take charge of all services covering health and safety at the workplace and the vocational training and social rehabilitation of physically handicapped persons.

Medical Services in the Factory

At the workplace the Board might be responsible (1) for taking over and extending the factory inspectorate (containing a higher proportion of doctors) and (2) for promoting a higher degree of industrial safety-first organisation and for conducting fact-finding investigations into the causes of major industrial accidents. It should also be charged (3) with building up an adequate industrial medical service. We should prefer industrial medical officers to be employed by the Board as public servants or else by employers and workers jointly (on lines possibly analogous to the German *Berufsgenossenschaften*). In large factories a medical organisation with a full-time staff might be appropriate; the majority of factories might be serviced in groups by industrial health protection stations or by special departments of local health centres. Over a wide range of industries six-monthly or annual medical overhauls should be made a compulsory condition of employment, and should include chest radiography. (The institution of health centres would make this much easier.) If there were adequate services for treating incipient disease or deteriorating physical conditions discovered at these overhauls, if the workers knew that their jobs and their financial security would be safe-

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guarded if they were withdrawn from industry for treatment, they would welcome such new services. Through its industrial medical service the Board should also be responsible (4) for extending first-aid services and greatly raising their quality. The Board might also become a major channel for passing on research problems to such bodies as the Industrial Health Research Board of the Medical Research Council, and might be asked to report on proposed new legislation or even itself to make proposals for new legislation.

Special Treatment Centres

Outside the workplace two main types of medical services are needed. (1) An adequate system of first-class centres and departments for traumatic surgery must be developed. War-time advances in the provision of much-needed organised fracture clinics and of centres for special types of surgery point the way for post-war developments. The service must provide all necessary artificial limbs and other mechanical aids, made, fitted and renewed under skilled supervision, as a normal element of rehabilitation work. (2) The creation of a proper system of special centres for diagnosis and treatment of occupational diseases and for research into their causes and conditioning factors is also necessary. To ensure effective treatment and maximum use of these facilities, (3) speedy transport from place of injury to place of treatment is essential. The Association of Industrial Medical Officers has emphasised¹ the need for a 24-hour ambulance service, operated as automatically as the fire-brigade service, and including mobile units (surgeon and nurse) able to treat shock before removal to hospital. War-time improvements in first-aid and ambulance services have obvious lessons for post-war reconstruction. Hardly any of these services is required exclusively for workers in industry, and they are all best provided as elements of a general system of national medical services. But it should be a duty of the Industrial Health and Rehabilitation Board (a) to satisfy itself that the ambulance services provided for the whole population by the responsible public health authorities adequately cover the industrial needs of each area, and (b) where local circumstances make it advisable, to promote schemes for special industrial ambulance services in particular areas.

Training and Employing the Handicapped Worker

The Board should be entrusted with the care of all physically handicapped persons who might be rendered "fit to engage in a remunerative occupation." In addition to those suffering from physical injuries or congenital disablement, the blind, the deaf, the dumb, the tuberculous and possibly high-grade mental defectives and other handicapped groups amenable to constructive treatment might be included. The Board should be responsible for vocational training schemes (preferably in special centres under its own control; sometimes by arrangement with private employers) for every type of disabled worker who has completed the stage of medical rehabilitation. The interim war-time schemes for the retraining of injured workers, the training schemes which will be necessary after the war for disabled ex-Servicemen, should all provide elements for a permanent post-war training scheme covering the whole population. Compulsory registration of all handicapped persons should be considered, and the Board might be given certain powers to compel such persons to accept training. (Cf. the practice in Denmark.) The Board should also be responsible for promoting a system of subsidised work projects or work colonies for some types of disablement (e.g., the blind, the tuberculous, etc.).

¹ Evidence before the Hetherington Commission on Workmen's Compensation.

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Either the Board or a special department of the Ministry of Labour should be responsible for maintaining a specialised service for the placing of disabled workers. This should include the making of special arrangements with industries or individual employers for the employment, under public supervision, of disabled workers, possibly with a subsidy to earnings in lieu of a disablement pension. The possibilities of fitting disabled workers into useful "normal" employment are probably under-estimated in this country. The experience of Soviet industries and of American concerns such as the General Electric Company and the Ford works at River Rouge has shown what can be done.

The borderline between the last stages of medical rehabilitation and the beginnings of vocational training is not always easy to trace. But the whole network of services involved in medical rehabilitation—including special rehabilitation centres—is so intimately bound up with other medical services, especially with hospitals, that they should be provided and controlled by the same authorities which are responsible for all the major medical services. But the Board should have some powers of supervision and inspection of facilities for traumatic surgery and medical rehabilitation, and should be required to satisfy itself that they are adequate in quantity and quality. . . .

UNIFICATION OF MEDICAL SERVICES

The provision of really adequate and complete medical services for the whole population can only be achieved either (a) by divorcing medical services financially and administratively from National Health Insurance and from Public Assistance and unifying them into one national system providing its services to every man, woman, and child as a citizen right, or (b) by enlarging the scope of the N.H.I. scheme to include persons of "like economic status" and the dependants of all insured persons and to afford a far wider range of skilled services. The latter proposal is now favoured by the National Conference of Friendly Societies. We believe that continuance after the war even of an extended and improved National Health Insurance medical service is bound to impede rather than promote the urgently necessary unification of health and medical services into one comprehensive national system. The Royal Commission on National Health Insurance (1926) rightly concluded that "the difficulties of a composite support to a completed medical service from insurance funds as well as from grants and rates would be so considerable alike in their financial, administrative, and social aspects that some more practical solution must be sought. In particular we feel sure that the wider the scope of these services the more difficult will it be to retain the insurance principle. The ultimate solution will lie, we think, in the direction of divorcing the medical service entirely from the insurance system and recognising it, along with all the other public health activities, as a service to be supported from the general public funds."¹ The N.H.I. scheme provides a partial medical service, not according to medical needs but according to insurance status, which depends on employment and other factors irrelevant to medical needs. "It is not defensible, assuming the existence of a 'national health policy,' that the care of an individual's health should be made to depend on the number of stamps affixed to a card in respect of his employment."²

The extensions of the N.H.I. scheme proposed by the National Conference of Friendly Societies are likely to make the existing jumble and confusion in the health services worse confounded. (1) A complete medical service would still not be provided (*e.g.*, exclusion of in-patient hospital

¹ Reaffirmed by the Committee on Scottish Health Services (1936).

² Reservation signed by seven members of the Committee on Scottish Health Services.

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treatment) and the problems of overlap between N.H.I. and other public services, stressed by the Royal Commission and the Scottish Committee, would be intensified. (2) Inclusion of dependants and of persons of "like economic status" would involve still greater administrative complexity and new problems of insurable status and "out of benefit" difficulties. (3) It would necessitate continuance of a separate Poor Law medical service for destitute persons who do not fit into the insurance scheme. (4) The N.H.I. scheme so extended would embrace 38-40 million people, and would thus become nothing more than an extraordinarily elaborate mechanism for *excluding* 10-15 per cent. of the total population from the panel medical services. An insurance scheme which is intended for a minority may be worth while; a scheme to exclude a minority is not. The "ultimate solution" of the Royal Commission in 1926 is to-day "practical politics"; the marriage contracted in 1911 between medical services and contributory insurance should be forthwith dissolved.

Health Centres

Extension of the N.H.I. scheme is but a cumbersome approximation to the "ultimate solution" of the Royal Commission of 1926—"a carefully built-up service organised on a single local basis, in which all varieties of preventive and curative work find their appropriate place," a unified system providing all medical services on the basis of common citizenship to every member of the population. This implies that general medical practice would become a public service, financed by some combination of national and local taxation. Each doctor might continue to operate from his own surgery, more or less in isolation from his colleagues and the specialists of his profession; but we should prefer to see the doctors of each neighbourhood brought together in a Health Centre, which would provide them with better premises, staff, diagnostic and treatment equipment than the average doctor can buy with his own resources. The local Health Centre would act as the focus for non-specialist domiciliary and out-patient work, and in many areas might accommodate services for midwifery, mothers, infants and children, tuberculosis diagnosis, and clinics for dental and optical treatment. It would be the logical base of operations for home nursing, health and sick-visiting services. In time a systematic service for health social work might be developed to assist the medical staff in getting information about their patients' home and work background, to link patients with all the facilities needed for speedy recovery and financial security and to conduct after-care work. The closest possible co-ordination of medical, welfare and income-maintenance functions could be ensured if the incapacity cash benefits of the Social Security Fund were administered through a local office in the Health Centre, and the Centre's social workers might act as agents of the Ministry of Social Security in their administration.

Such a system has further advantages. (1) As stressed by the Dawson Report of 1920,¹ co-operation and team work among doctors and closer contact with specialists would be intellectually stimulating and would raise the general level of medical work. (2) Lax certification, due to the doctor's financial dependence on his patients, would be far less common, and the doctor would be relieved of a load of non-medical preoccupations arising from financial insecurity. (3) The use of a proper recording staff would enable each health centre to develop a standardised system of individual health records (starting

¹ "Interim Report of the Ministry of Health Consultative Council on Medical and Allied Services," which, however, regarded the health centre as a kind of first-line hospital.

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from birth), from which reliable local morbidity statistics could be computed. This would provide knowledge impossible to extract from the unstandardised and incomplete records of panel doctors and Approved Societies, which Health Centres could use for planning special investigations or concerted action on particular health problems. (4) The local Health Centre, by drawing public-spirited individuals or organisations into its management and welfare work, could provide new opportunities for active citizenship on a neighbourhood basis. In itself the institution of Health Centres would neither restrict nor enlarge the degree of "free choice of doctor" which exists at present.

The Civil Service: Yesterday and To-morrow

By E. N. GLADDEN, M.Sc., Ph.D.

CIVIL Servants must deplore the fact that interest in the Civil Service is inclined to be sporadic. When all is well the Service is taken for granted or damned with faint praise: when difficulties arise or crisis intervenes an immediate stream of criticism is directed upon an institution about which the public is sadly misinformed or hardly informed at all. Revolutionary conclusions are then drawn from inadequate data; certain interest groups welcome the new trend as a smoke-screen to mask their own complicity in the troubles that have arisen or to pay off old scores against the administrator: clever publicists in their ignorance utterly fail to put their fingers on the root-causes of the shortcomings which are now apparent to all. It is only when a Royal Commission or Select Committee is given officially the task of examining the facts that we really obtain a considered picture, and in this present emergency the position is quite the normal one, even if the outlook is ever so much more serious in its implications. But it cannot be denied that behind current criticism there is more than the normal dissatisfaction with the inevitable difficulties arising from the expansion of a peace-time service by means of expedients, necessarily empirical, to meet the temporary needs of a war-time emergency. Such changes could not avoid criticism even if they achieved perfection, but what is in people's minds is the grave doubt whether the Civil Service will be able to meet the needs of the new expanded Social State whose advent is accepted by the majority as an inevitable outcome of the present upheaval. However, an exaggeration of the Civil Service's peace-time shortcomings or a woeful misunderstanding of its capacities will merely make matters worse. It is therefore, I suggest, incumbent upon civil servants themselves to do what they can to place the present situation in its true perspective by examining judiciously the facts, of which they alone are aware, in all their complexity. This article should be regarded as a tentative exploration with that objective in view.

I.—CURRENT CRITICISMS

These relate to the pre-war Service and may be appropriately classified under four main headings, viz.:—(1) Ineffective Control, (2) Moderate Efficiency, (3) Restricted Experience, and (4) "Red Tape." It is desirable first to assess the truth of such criticisms.

(1) *Ineffective Control*.—This is essentially a borderland problem within both the spheres of politics and administration which has recently been

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thoroughly investigated by the Select Committee on National Expenditure.¹ Criticism is directed from two different angles. In the first place it is suggested that the bridges between the Government and the Administration are too few and too narrow, with the result that the Civil Service is left too much to follow its own sweet will; in the second place it is alleged that the internal co-ordination lacks vigour, and that in consequence the administration lags behind in developing the technique appropriate to its tasks. If there is substance in both these criticisms—and the Select Committee certainly holds that there is—it must be stressed that the blame can hardly be placed upon the Civil Service.

The charge of bureaucracy is often heard, but usually as a term of opprobrium rather than in its true connotation of a governmental administration acting in its own interest. We do not forget the classic controversy² over the allegation that the Civil Service was enhancing its own powers by taking full advantage of the rule-making authority increasingly delegated by Act of Parliament, but apart from the total lack of evidence that such a tendency existed or exists, it need hardly be said that, if it did, much current criticism would be contradictory, since a self-willed bureaucracy could hardly afford to take the line of least resistance.

In truth, while the Civil Service in its top layers may formulate advice on which policy is based, it is not a policy-forming organisation, and it adheres to its proper administrative functions. This being accepted—and there is little evidence to the contrary—it follows that neither the Service in general, nor the Treasury in particular, can be held responsible in recent years for its somewhat unenterprising attitude. Parliament and the Cabinet have determined what policies the administration should implement and how much money should be allowed for their execution. The fact that the Civil Service—in line with its traditions—has so loyally carried out its duties should be taken as a good rather than a bad sign.³ There is nothing in its record to suggest that the demands of the new situation which is arising cannot be efficiently met. Naturally with a developing situation and the technique of administration still in its infancy modifications both in the existing machinery and in the personnel will be called for. But this is surely a normal symptom of growth, and in this administration is no different from any other field of activity.

(2) *Moderate Efficiency.*—The Civil Service is rarely accused of absolute inefficiency, but criticisms under this heading usually suggest that its efficiency could be considerably improved. The outside critic is insufficiently informed to touch upon the real cause or explanation, and he is inclined to attribute the position, in so far as his allegation may be true, to a general characteristic of State organisation, and to leave it at that—not always without considerable satisfaction.

If the pre-war Civil Service fell below attainable standards—and this will have to be conceded—there were probably two main reasons.

(i) Recruitment since the first World War into the basic Clerical Grades of considerable numbers of ex-Servicemen whose experience and educational standards were inevitably below the normal Civil Service level and whose age was considerably above the normal recruitment age.

Admitting that the State's policy in giving the widest possible opportunity to ex-Servicemen to enter the Civil Service was a proper one (a matter on which it was not for the administration to pass an opinion) a higher standard of recruitment could have been imposed had the whole field of ex-Servicemen been more carefully combed. The original entry of the ex-Serviceman in a temporary capacity was haphazard to say the least, and more selective tests

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could have been imposed. On the other hand the high age grouping could not have been avoided without seriously restricting the field of recruitment and failing to meet the needs of the older ex-Servicemen. It was certain, therefore, that there would be a slowing down of recruitment of youth shortly following the war, with the result that in 1939 the Service was still without a big enough cadre of young people, not only capable of vigorously performing the manifold day-to-day work of the lower grades but, at the same time, in process of acquiring the necessary experience for advancement to the higher posts when the older officers began to flow into retirement. There was also, and inevitably, a shortage of officials in their vigorous thirties with the ripe experience on the middle ranges of work that accrues by that age. All this was a cost of the last war which the Civil Service had perforce to bear.

(ii) Training of staff has not been given the attention that the growing complexities of the Government's tasks and the developing needs of the administrative art have called for. Departmental training schemes have been in operation for some time in a few Departments, but it is only during the last few years that any real attention has been paid to this problem in the Service as a whole. The staff itself ought to have co-operated more actively through the Whitley system to speed up developments in training but, owing to a general lack of interest, the average civil servant was not made aware of the importance of training for his own efficiency. Of general training for the top ranges or for the rank-and-file there were few signs, and the Select Committee's proposal⁴ to set up a Staff College is certainly a step in the right direction.

(3) *Restricted Experience.*—It is very widely alleged that the average civil servant is a person of somewhat restricted experience and, while there may be something in this, we must not overlook the fact that it is a characteristic of all professions in which a life-long career is the rule and that the civil servant, in view of the great variety of the tasks of government, is probably less guilty than many others under this heading. Moreover, the very range of the governmental sphere furnishes means for neutralising this disadvantage which is not therefore inherent, as many critics suggest, in all government service. We should certainly examine the actual position to see what support there is for the allegation.

(i) The Administrative Class—up to 1939 at least—was largely recruited from the universities through a very stiff entrance examination of advanced educational studies. If this class was still drawn from a somewhat restricted circle that was due to an educational system which could have been more liberally based. An examination of the list of entrants in recent years shows that increasing numbers entering through this channel came from outside the so-called ruling class, and Mr. H. E. Dale⁵ gives this as one of the reasons for what, in his view, was a weakening of the Administrative Class.

Looking within the Service it is undoubtedly true to say that only half-hearted efforts were made to comb out the whole Service for the appropriate talents with which to recruit the Administrative Class. It is certain that there were more persons of the right calibre among the various Clerical, Executive and Professional grades than were actually afforded an opportunity to prove their worth on the actual work. An administrator who in his early years has had an opportunity to grapple with and overcome difficulties arising in the actual routine duties of the office will have a practical touch that will stand him in good stead on many an occasion when larger subjects are being thrashed out. It may be true to say that an excess of routine work tends to stultify the officer who experiences it for too long, but the exceptional man—and it is he who is most urgently needed—will be able to overcome even that serious

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drawback. Too many younger officers in the Clerical and Executive Classes were discouraged by the formula, at one time popular among the ruling hierarchy, "too old at thirty."

(ii) In normal times except on the topmost layers the departmental seniority list tended to become sacrosanct. Except when new blocks of work were being introduced transfers between the different Ministries were decidedly minimal. All the regulations and, one must admit, the staff interests, tended to support the particularist system, and there was little effort made to take the square pegs out of the round holes in one Department and fit them into the square holes of another.

It is clear that, with the variety of talents which the civil servants individually supplied and the variety of work which the government offices provided, increased efficiency could have been aimed at through a more fluid personnel system. But, in view of the normal influences of the constitutional system whereby the Minister's authority was strictly maintained and of the vigorous support by the staff of all rules that helped to prevent the use of the transfer system for individual advantage, it is not easy to see what could have been done about it without an instructed public opinion to support a stronger administrative policy. The Treasury's hands appear to have been very effectively tied.

(iii) Civil servants have not normally been in a position to obtain experience in other fields, though occasionally they could hold foreign or colonial posts, which, however, still kept them mainly within the official environment. Where they had other experience it would usually have occurred prior to their entry into the Service, and would therefore be somewhat limited in scope and constitute a dwindling asset. However, we should not overlook the large number of inspectors whose normal duties took them into other occupational spheres and the special experience obtained by higher officers who sat upon advisory and consultative committees with members of industry and the professions.

(4) "*Red Tape*."—This is really a delightfully vague term applied by members of the public to all the activities of government officials by which they are personally incommoded. Its proper meaning in our present context is probably the roundabout methods to which all large organisations are heir, as compared with the small concern whose chief can take spot decisions with the knowledge that the results are not only his responsibility if things go wrong but also his gain if his decision proves a right one. There is no authoritative evidence,⁶ so far as I am aware, to show that the British Civil Service has been a bad sinner in this respect. A careful investigation seems more likely to disclose the opposite to be the truth. The extra care with which the civil servant needs to preface all his activities is implicit in his duty to mete out equal treatment to all and sundry and to be in a position to justify his action to his seniors in order that they, in their turn, may satisfy the Minister, in his quest for the information he requires to reply to the interrogations of Parliament. This brings us back to the problem of control, which has a direct bearing upon procedure, and although a wider delegation of responsibility may well be possible some degree of "red tape" is bound to remain. It should properly be set off against the manifold advantages and economies of large-scale organisation.

In war-time, when new organisations have to be set up urgently and administratively inexperienced people brought in to run them, the need to safeguard procedure, e.g., by the duplication of forms, creates an impression among harassed members of the public that such methods are an inevitable concomitant of officialdom. They are more likely to be the inevitable outcome

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of a particular situation which leaves no time margin for experiment. But the larger administrative organisation is a very fruitful field for experiment and considerable advances were being made in the Civil Service before the present war, *e.g.*, in the extended use of office machines, often combined with the reduction in number and the more economical use of forms, such as was achieved by the Post Office Savings Bank, where simplified methods both with the public at the counter and internally at headquarters were evolved without any sacrifice of the security element essential to such a concern. It would be wrong to say that every advantage was taken of cultivating this field for experiment. The Select Committee has already dilated⁷ upon the failure to develop fully the new "organisation and methods" technique introduced both by the Treasury in co-operation with outside experts and also by certain of the larger Ministries.

II.—EXISTING VIRTUES

Before going on to suggest what changes seem to be desirable to meet the criticisms just discussed it would be as well briefly to set down the Service's existing virtues and its recent advances, which must certainly not be sacrificed in the future.

(a) The British Civil Service has no greater asset than its high reputation for integrity and incorruptibility.⁸ Its severest critics concede it this admirable virtue, and it is a first essential that nothing should be done in any way to lower its merited and essential reputation. Both the fact of this reputation and the need for its preservation are so universally recognised that further discussion on this point would appear to be otiose.

(b) The British Civil Service owed its birth to a reaction to the evils of patronage. Too universally is the official post still regarded as justifiable "spoils" for political services. It is essential, therefore, that selection for entry should be both neutral and efficient. Both objectives are attained by the Civil Service Commissioners in their careful regulation of recruitment, especially by the method of open competition. Any proposed change that tends to the introduction of a less impartial procedure for entrance selection should be met with suspicion, even should efficiency be the alleged objective!

Since 1919, through reorganisation of the Service, recruitment has been closely co-ordinated with the different stages of the educational system. This seems to be a logical advance and one that should be maintained. Improvements should be sought within the educational field before recruitment or within the Service afterwards, but in the main the present system of co-ordination in the flow from one to the other follows the correct principle.

(c) The system of after-entry selection, known as promotion, still falls far short of the ideal of coupling neutrality (*i.e.*, absence of favouritism) with efficiency in choosing the best man for the job, but advances have been made in the direction of the annual report system and the promotions board. These are developments—advanced further in the Civil Service than in most outside fields—which should be maintained in the future, and they afford an excellent field for sustained research.

(d) A notable advance has been made in co-operation between the administration and the staff. In the Whitley machinery and the Civil Service Arbitration Board a smooth-working system of discussion and appeal has been built up through which the rank-and-file may not only safeguard their standards of employment but also participate in many of the tasks of administration. Naturally in this latter connection problems of personnel have usually been involved, but there is no reason why, in the future, the area of co-opera-

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tion should not be developed and broadened to include other administrative techniques in which the contribution of the staff can be of value.

These four virtues or advances, briefly dismissed it is true, constitute the essentials of a competent Civil Service. In combination they place the British Civil Service in a position of pre-eminence and even make current criticisms appear in their true light of merely affecting the fringes of a competent administration which, in the natural course of events, needs periodical revision to enable it to deal with an expanding environment.

III.—CHANGES PROPOSED

Before proceeding to examine the needs of the immediate future it would be helpful to recapitulate the chief points that appear to require revision. The headings under which the discussion has been conducted in the first section of this essay are as follows:—

- (1) *Ineffective Control.*
 - (i) External.
 - (ii) Internal.
- (2) *Moderate Efficiency.*
 - (i) Inadequate recruitment standards of basic grade.
 - (ii) Inadequate Training.
- (3) *Restricted Experience.*
 - (i) Narrow field of choice for Administrative Classes.
 - (ii) Paucity of movement of staff between Ministries.
 - (iii) Lack of outside experience.
- (4) "*Red Tape.*"

After this rather long preamble let us now, under slightly revised headings, consider what changes are likely to enable the Civil Service not only to deal with the new tasks of the immediate future but also, while retaining all its present virtues, to remove most of the failings that have become apparent in recent experience.

(1) *More Effective Control.*

(i) *External.*—In achieving the aim of building a Civil Service which will carry out impartially the nation's administration under the direction of the Government—the Cabinet and the Ministry—it is not easy to avoid pressing the virtue of neutrality too far. It must be agreed that the elimination of all place-seeking is a great achievement, when we realise how great this evil can be, but it cannot be denied that in the evolution of the Service the predominance of this aim has tended to obscure the need to pursue a more positive efficiency policy. The reason may well be that only in recent years has the development in the art and science of administration begun to be widely recognised, and even now possibly less in Britain than elsewhere. American investigators, for example, have given this matter a much more thorough examination than we have yet undertaken on this side, and it cannot well be denied that there is a considerable leeway to be made up.

The administration has become a very complex organisation and, while there is no criticism of the line of direction passing through the Cabinet to the Treasury and the various Ministries, which is such that instructions are passed down and policies changed without the least hitch or incorrect political reaction, it is widely considered that a more intensive supervision, from the standpoint of efficiency, is called for of the administrative machinery as a whole. In the past, as we have already noted, the Royal Commission, Select or Departmental Committee has given occasional attention to this problem

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with excellent results, but it is now felt that a more continuous review is needed. Many suggestions have been made: for example, Professor Joad has proposed⁹ that a Bureau of Public Criticism should be set up to investigate complaints against officials brought by members of the public, but something rather more searching but less inquisitorial than this appears to be wanted, and it is difficult to imagine what better organ there can be than Parliament, both to represent the people and to ensure a proper balance in the investigation, which must aim at searching beyond the personal idiosyncracies of the civil servant to the underlying facts of the administration. It is for this reason that the proposal of the Select Committee¹⁰ for "the Parliamentary Review of the Economic Use of Civil Service" is to be welcomed. This review of the machinery of Government would be carried out by a Select Committee of the House, to which it would report from time to time. It would have a permanent Assessor, comparable in status with the Comptroller and Auditor General, who would, to quote the Report, "have a statutory right to call for reports, papers and other information concerning matters properly falling within the purview of the Committee." The Committee itself would not only have the duty of examining the Assessor's submissions or of dealing with matters specially referred to it by the House, but it would also be competent to consider any other matters which properly fell within its terms of reference.

Allied to this problem of external control is the requirement that civil servants should be officially neutral in relation to political activities. They are not prevented from holding specific political views and of exercising their ordinary rights as electors, but they must not publicly support any of the political parties. Undoubtedly this has been an important factor in the maintenance of the integrity of the British Civil Service, but with the expansion of the State's field of operations it is obvious that a stage must be reached when, merely from a numerical standpoint, a barring of so many citizens from full political rights would adversely affect the essential presuppositions of democracy and selection of our political leaders would legally be limited to too narrow a field. There is much to be said, therefore, for the proposal¹¹ that the bar on political activity should only be maintained in relation to the Administrative Class, and possibly to certain of the Professional, Technical and Higher Executive posts, but of course resignation should still be obligatory (with suitable superannuation compensation) on the election of any official to Parliament.

(ii) *Internal.*—The Select Committee proposes that, while direction of personnel matters is retained within the Treasury, a more active policy should be adopted in this field. This is all to the good, and the proposal of the Committee, that "organisation and methods" work should be vigorously developed, should do much to place the Service in the stream of progress which is rising to a considerable tide in other spheres. There is not space here to detail the Committee's proposals, and the Report should certainly be consulted.¹² The controversy as to whether personnel matters should remain with the Treasury or devolve upon a separate independent authority can be left for the moment. In this discussion the influence of financial control, as developed by the British constitutional system, is too vital for an academic solution, however logical, to be accepted without very careful consideration and there is good reason to believe that the Select Committee's compromise is sound.

(2) *Improved Efficiency.*

(i) It is a first essential that the rank-and-file of any administrative service should be recruited from a type of person capable not only of

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efficiently performing the ordinary clerical work—and this, we must recognise tends to become more complex—but also of a sufficiently high calibre to supply a good flow of aspirants for the various supervisory duties, to the fulfilment of which experience is of primary importance. They should also, in a live Service, supply a good percentage of the candidates to posts in the higher Service classes, which also have a flow of direct entrants through the open competitions.

When open recruitment recommences after the war it is essential that improvement in the standards of the rank-and-file should be aimed at, with both immediate and future ends in view. It would appear desirable that the recruitment of young men and women direct from school should be pursued concurrently with the recruitment of ex-Service people, who will certainly have a weighty claim to consideration. But such claims should not be allowed to outweigh the Service's essential need for efficiency, and suitable selective tests should be improvised and imposed with the object of filling the ex-Service quota with the best people available, in fairness both to themselves as a class and to the community as their prospective employer.

(ii) But the problem does not end here. First obtain your man—without the intervention of favouritism—and then train him for a career: that should be the Service's motto. In the past too little attention has been paid to training, as we have already seen, but in the future we may hope that the proposed Civil Service Staff College will alter all this both by actual control of studies and by its influence, which should percolate into a much wider field. It is to be assumed that the first task of the Staff College¹³ will be the training of the elite, the moulding, as it were, of the administrator, whose inborn art will receive the inestimable assistance of science and research. What a field is here to be placed in cultivation!

The rank-and-file, too, will have their needs. It is too often assumed that anyone can be a clerk. Once he has passed an examination in subjects which demonstrate that he has a sufficiently advanced general education it is considered that time alone, with accumulating experience, will fit him for the routine of the pre-administrative field. This is a mistake, and in the future it is likely to become a mistake of increasing seriousness. There is an office technique to be learned, and the clerk who starts with a good groundwork has, other things being equal, the makings of a better civil servant than one without. It is proposed, therefore, that a preliminary course should be inaugurated, including such subjects as Office Practice and Organisation, Book-keeping, Elements of Statistics and Outlines of Central Government, and that a pass certificate based upon this course should be the minimum requirement for the first step on the promotional ladder. The course could possibly constitute an introduction to a more extended study of administration, and should therefore come under the control of the Staff College.

(3) *Widened Experience.*

(i) While few would deny the need to ensure that men of the highest talents should continue to enter the Service from the Universities (and therefore at a somewhat later age than in the lower grades) by a stiff open examination, as in the past, it would appear desirable that recruitment of the Administrative Grades should be opened more extensively and continuously to other civil servants with appropriate practical experience and qualifications. With this object in view it is suggested that the inflow from the two sources should be regulated on a fifty-fifty basis and, possibly, the Administrative Class should be widened by the inclusion of certain senior posts in the Clerical,

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Executive and other classes in those cases where there is no real distinction between the different types of directive work. Promotions to the Administrative Class should proceed by a variety of methods calculated to maintain avenues at all stages of the career of members of the non-administrative ranks. Thus, promising juniors could be promoted by recommendation and selection board in accordance with present regulations (which have not been frequently invoked in normal times), and senior officers would receive promotion to higher Administrative posts in normal course. The Staff College should assist in the preparation of junior candidates, few of whom would have received the appropriate pre-entry education, and there should be special provision for the candidature at all stages of civil servants who qualify in research in administration under the auspices of the Staff College or of other accredited academic institutions imposing tests of administrative studies of a sufficiently high standard. In order to neutralise any possibility of victimisation, candidates for administrative rank on the strength of academic qualifications should, except in special circumstances, be given a reasonable opportunity to prove their worth on practical work, but, of course, since academic ability may often be accompanied by characteristics rendering a person unsuitable for administrative rank, a stiff probationary test would need to be imposed. It would not be difficult to introduce safeguards both to the individual and to the Service.

(ii) Under normal conditions an officer of the Treasury Classes (outside the Administrative) entering a particular Ministry is restricted to that Ministry for the remainder of his career, except under special circumstances. The seniority list is the presiding genius. (There may even be separate lists for the sub-Departments of a large Ministry!) and transfers are discouraged by the rules designed, with the staff's vigorous support, to prevent the influx of officers of high seniority from other departments who would consequently have an adverse effect upon promotion prospects. It is clear that this strong tendency to compartmentalise the Service must have a detrimental effect upon the general standard of efficiency, since it restricts considerably the possibilities of placing individual civil servants in their right niche and tends to make the seniority system hidebound.

It is perfectly true that a department will gain from having a highly experienced staff and that frequent changes between departments will not be welcomed. On the other hand officers can stay too long on one type of work and may easily come to regard the rules and regulations as more important than the objects for which the department exists. Occasional changes are good for everyone, and the presence in an office of a number of persons who have had experience in a different official sphere must constitute a general gain to the organisation.

The following extract from the Beveridge Report¹⁴ gives a fair indication of the needs of the future with regard to the selection of staff with the correct outlook and experience:—

“ In the organisation of the Ministry [of Social Security] two points will be regarded as of outstanding importance:—

(a) Decentralisation and close contact with local agencies of all kinds in dealing with the varied needs of insured persons;

(b) Selection and training of staff with special regard to their functions in serving the public and in understanding the human problems with which they will be concerned.”

If such careful methods of selection and training are to be adopted in the future, and a tendency to over-specialisation and compartmentalisation is to be avoided, a greater degree of fluidity will have to be introduced.

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Since the seniority list in its present form appears to be one of the main obstacles to change a new seniority principle would seem to be an essential preliminary to an advance of the type visualised. The new principle¹⁵ proposed here is Group Seniority. There is not space to give a detailed explanation of the idea, but, stated briefly, it would work as follows:—All the general office grades below the rank of Staff Officer or its equivalent would be reconstituted into an administrative-clerical service with, say, ten Seniority Groups, each of which would have a salary scale covering a range of £50-£60. These groups would be common to the whole Service. A civil servant would cease to have a personal seniority position on a departmental list as at present, and would henceforth belong to one of the ten Seniority Groups common to the whole Service. Within his own group in the department to which he belonged he would be listed in strict alphabetical order and would be eligible for consideration for promotion whenever a vacancy arose in the group next above his own. Such promotions would continue to fall within the same department, but transfers and exchanges between different departments, under which the officer's Group Seniority would not change, would be easy to arrange. In fact the individual civil servant would be considered as interchangeable laterally within his particular Seniority Group throughout the Service.

Efficiently to regulate the new system a new staff organisation would be needed, viz., a Personnel Organisation Board under an expert chairman who would have a wide degree of independence. The P.O.B. might appropriately include four other members, selected by different authorities, viz., one each by the Treasury, the Civil Service Commission, the Staff Side of the National Whitley Council and the Government Department particularly concerned in the current review. Just where the Board would be located in the constitutional system is not absolutely clear, but it is suggested that it might bear a similar relationship to the Treasury as the Civil Service Commission and, since its main aim would be to increase the general efficiency of the Service, it should maintain close liaison with the new "organisation and methods" branches referred to in the Select Committee's Report.

The P.O.B. would arrange all inter-departmental transfers. It would make recommendations to the Treasury on the authorised staff numbers within the several Seniority Groups in any particular department and, taking into account such a factor as age groupings within the department, make recommendation for transfers. It would arrange for the staffing of new departments in so far as transfers from the existing Civil Service were concerned; it would deal with all departmental representations on transfer problems and consider personal appeals of individual civil servants who claimed that they had qualification or experience that would be of use elsewhere. In no instance would the transfers it authorised involve promotion. Its object would be to evolve means whereby the best use should be made of the talents within the Service and to ensure some general approach to equality of opportunity, which certainly does not exist to-day.

(iii) Methods whereby civil servants can obtain outside experience are not easy to devise, but arrangements could no doubt be made for the seconding of Administrative Officers for a period of service with large outside organisations at home and abroad. A greater fluidity could also be attained in those professional groups whose career is not confined, or need not be confined, to the Government Service. However, the expanding functions of the Service mean a greater field for experience within the Service and the adoption of methods to achieve greater staff fluidity should go a long way to nullify the accusation that the civil servant is necessarily a person of restricted

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experience. If recruitment of the administrative-clerical staffs of the various non-private corporations were brought under the control of the Civil Service Commissioners—as appears to be desirable, if only to reinforce the neutrality principle in selection—the field of official experience could be further widened.

(4) *Abolition of "Red Tape."*—It has already been suggested that the British Civil Service is not, in normal times, a bad transgressor under the heading of Red Tape which is, indeed, a characteristic of all large-scale organisation. We are not concerned, therefore, to discuss here those aspects of red tape that are attributable to incompetence, but rather to those methods associated with large-scale organisation which appear to the individual, coming into contact with them, as involved and roundabout, but which, in the larger picture, lead to greater efficiency or are definitely postulated by the need for complete impartiality in the governmental field.

(i) *Improved Administrative Knowledge.*—Much could probably be done towards simplification of method if we knew more about the administrative processes. There can be little doubt that the Select Committee's proposal for the strengthening of the Methods and Organisation side of the Service will lead to considerable advances in this direction. The intermingling at the moment of the old Civil Service with so many newcomers from the professions and industry should certainly assist in the introduction of newer and more independent methods into the daily practices of the government department, although the evidence is not all in favour of the idea that the non-civil servant shows more initiative when brought into the official environment: he has often been brought up in an atmosphere so arbitrary and unregulated that his style is hopelessly cramped by the minimum necessities of official regulation. Confronted by the vast array of departmental rules, necessary to ensure the equality of treatment to which reference has already been made, the outsider often becomes in a flash "more royalist than the king."

(ii) *Personal Contacts supplement Correspondence.*—In the past the ideal civil servant has been very much a clerk working in an office and, although the British civil servant has never been addicted to the disease of "*la paperassière*"¹⁶ that has tended to overwhelm certain foreign administrations, he has been too often prone to prefer the inditing of an official minute to investigating the situation in the field.

All this has been changing for some time. The growth of the Social Services has meant the maintenance of direct contacts with the people and new techniques have had to be worked out. The unemployed worker, entitled to his benefit payment, will not wait until a distinct authority for its payment has been obtained from headquarters. The official has to decide and act on the spot.

This trend has been speeded up by the war, especially in relation to problems of production with which the Service has become increasingly concerned. Officials can no longer afford to carry on correspondence with manufacturers and to permit the shilly-shallying to which the private concern often resorts when it is not willing to give a direct or immediate answer. The official now has to investigate on the spot, and for this purpose he has had to be invested with reasonable authority and the power to make spot decisions in case of real urgency. It is to be hoped that these more personal methods will still be encouraged when the present troubles have passed. To-day clerks are not the best administrative agents.

(iii) *Delegation of Responsibility.*—This brings us up against one of the real difficulties of the government service: the delegation of responsibility. It is obvious that where accountability to Parliament exists discretion to vary

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the normal rules cannot be widely delegated; the civil servant will always be conscious of his accountability, and his style will consequently be cramped. This is, however, a characteristic of the system and not of the individuals running the system. If Parliament can work out new and more flexible methods of control—as, to a certain extent, they have done for the large semi-independent corporation—it should be possible to delegate a greater degree of responsibility to the official.

There are, however, other possible reasons for the lack of enterprise on the official's part. When the safe man is preferred at the top there will be a pervasive tendency to choose the safe man all the way down. The official with ideas will be looked upon as dangerous. He will be discouraged at every turn. "Yesmanitis," a disease apparent in many fields of recent years, will grow to such dimensions that no original thought will gain currency unless by chance it enters at the top. Obviously a live Service will encourage initiative, and it will not be the policy of the supervising officer to rate the occasional mistake all out of proportion to its real seriousness. Special efforts will need to be made—and certain of the proposals in this essay have this end in view—to build the sort of Service in which new ideas germinate naturally, and there is a continuous movement against the perpetuation of red-tape methods. In such a Service responsibility will percolate from the top—and not stay with the controlling elements, so that the Service to-day is divided into two distinct worlds, viz., those who think and decide, those who merely obey.

(ix) *Expeditions Transmission of Information.*—One of the greatest problems in a complex organisation is the expeditious transmission of information from the extremities, through which the agents make contact with the surrounding situation, to the directing elements at the top. Too often the leader fails, not from lack of genius, but because he does not know. Sometimes, it must be admitted, this is because he thinks he knows when he does not. And then it may be his own fault. Some able men are prone to assume that they lack nothing in their view of the situation, not even the information which can only be laboriously gathered. But though genius may, by a sort of intuition, jump to the right conclusion, the cleverest man cannot afford not to know the up-to-date facts. This is where the personal investigator comes in, and the official representative's task is to find out; to assess the outside situation and concisely to report back the vital facts to headquarters. The new Civil Service will need to discover and to cherish individuals with these capabilities, if the vast new social machinery is to function quickly and efficiently. But the leaders will need to be able to differentiate between the glib talker and the active creative thinker, while a new virtue of the hierarchic type of organisation will need to rest in its faculty of sorting out the facts and passing forward the vital information at each stage with speed and accuracy. This is much to ask of it, but the execution must not fall short of the need if the greatest use is to be made of the individual's inestimable contribution.

IV.—CONCLUSION

Can we now sum up the proposed changes in to-day's Civil Service in order that it may be competent to deal with to-morrow's tasks which, we agree, are bound to be ever so much more complex than yesterday's? Briefly they are as follow:—

(1) *Towards more Effective Control.*

(i) Parliament to maintain a continuous review of the administration, but subordinates to be allowed a wider political freedom.

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(ii) Personnel and organisational problems to be more energetically co-ordinated.

(2) Achievement of Improved Efficiency.

(i) After-war recruitment to be based upon impartiality and competence. Ex-Service recruitments not to displace all open competitions.

(ii) Training, both through a Staff College and by the development of up-to-date office methods.

(3) Provision of Widened Experience.

(i) Administrative Class to be more widely recruited from the other Civil Service classes.

(ii) Methods to be introduced to permit a greater staff fluidity between departments. The new transfer system to be controlled by a Personnel Organisation Board.

(iii) Administrative and other officials to be given opportunities of service with outside organisations. Large non-private corporations to be brought within the Civil Service Commissioners' field of recruitment.

(4) Abolition of "Red Tape."

(i) Improved administrative knowledge.

(ii) Personal contacts to supplement correspondence.

(iii) A wider delegation of responsibility to be aimed at.

(iv) Staffing and office organisation to aim at more expeditious transmission of information from the field to the top.

These proposals are partial rather than radical. They are offered on the assumption that an efficient administrative organisation already exists and that our job is to improve rather than to rebuild it. There is an idea abroad that a new sort of Civil Service is wanted. This is certainly true, but it is not true that a different sort of Civil Service means a different civil servant. The British Civil Service already has a share of all the talents: it needs to make the best of this share and not to denude the whole community of its comparatively restricted store of ability. The assertion that a separate industrial service¹ is wanted ignores completely the present existence of the Post Office—a large industrial concern whose efficiency is second to none. Post Office officials and Whitehall officials (if I may so define the rest of the Service for this present purpose) are not a different breed. They are recruited through the same examinations, but subsequently subjected to different rules and conditions. The civil servants in an expanded industrial service, or in the semi-official corporations, would be similarly moulded. One thing is certain; if we are to avoid all the dangers of bureaucracy and hidebound socialisation we must continue to recruit the Civil Service impartially, and we must, from the widest possible field, select and train at the after-entry stage, the right types of official for the different community organisations. Variety must be maintained by the introduction of a maximum staff fluidity between the various branches of the administration and, while the individual civil servant must not be standardised, he must be subject to a high code of service and efficiency and be capable of dealing with the new social techniques. He must regard his function of serving the community as the highest office to which any citizen can be called and as an objective for which any personal sacrifice is worth while.

¹ In full, "Sixteenth Report from the Select Committee on National Expenditure, Session 1941-42," 120. Autumn, 1942.

² Lord Hewart in "The New Despotism," 1929, and "Report of Committee on Minister's Powers. Cmd. 4060.

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³ In his "Democracy in Crisis" Professor Laski appears to have had doubts of the Civil Service's fundamental neutrality, but such fears sprang from the theory adumbrated rather than the facts actually examined.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, paras. 121 and 122.

⁵ H. E. Dale in "The Higher Civil Service of Great Britain," 1941, especially chapter IV.

⁶ J. P. W. Mallalieu's recently successful "Passed To You Please" is a standing record of the flimsiness of any such evidence!

⁷ *Loc. cit.*, para. 56.

⁸ Cmd. 5254 (1936) which relates to one of the few cases that has occurred serves rather to illuminate the high standards that are expected of the Civil Service.

⁹ C. E. M. Joad in "Liberty To-day," page 58.

¹⁰ *Loc. cit.*, para. 124 *et seq.*

¹¹ Prof. Laski in his introduction to Mallalieu's book already mentioned, see page 12.

¹² *Loc. cit.*, para. 57 *et seq.*

¹³ The Select Committee's Report does not deal fully with the Staff College's functions and this is therefore a question for discussion.

¹⁴ "Social Insurance and Allied Services." Report by Sir William Beveridge, para. 385. Cmd. 6404. 1942.

¹⁵ An idea embodied in the writer's thesis on "The Attainment of Efficiency in the State Service" accepted by London University in 1936 but not published.

¹⁶ W. R. Sharp in "The French Civil Service."

¹⁷ *e.g.*, "Civil Service Reform," Interim Report of Sub-Committee appointed by the Liberal Party. 1942.

General Revaluation in Northern Ireland

By WILLIAM ROBSON and GEORGE E. WARWICK, F.S.I.

THE purpose of this article is to describe the administrative machinery and the methods employed in the preparation of the Valuation Lists containing the First General Revaluation of its entire territory undertaken by the Government of Northern Ireland. The basis of assessment and the principles underlying the ascertainment of net annual value, full of interest as they undoubtedly are, have been glanced at only to the extent necessary to illustrate the nature of the administrative problem. The article is under the joint authorship of two ex-Commissioners of Valuation for Northern Ireland.

First let it be stated that under Irish valuation law the purpose of the Valuation List is to provide a valuation of each separately rateable hereditament on one basis only, *i.e.*, on that of net annual value. There is no provision for gross value as in Great Britain. This net annual value is used for a variety of purposes, mainly as the basis of assessment of local rates and of Schedule A Income Tax. The definition of net annual value applicable to all hereditaments other than land is laid down in Section 11 of the Valuation (Ireland) Act, 1852, the relevant part of which reads:—

"And such valuation in regard to houses and buildings shall be made upon an estimate of the net annual value thereof; that is to say, the rent for which, one year with another, the same might in its actual state be reasonably expected to let from year to year, the probable average annual cost of repairs, insurance, and other expenses (if any) necessary to maintain the hereditament in its actual state, and all rates, taxes, and public charges, if any (except tithe-rent charge), being paid by the tenant."

The Government of Northern Ireland by its Act of 1932 which provided for its first general revaluation adopted this definition of the Act of 1852 and

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widened its scope to include all property with the exception of agricultural land, and subject to special conditions in regard to existing agricultural holdings and railway hereditaments. Agricultural land having been derated in 1929 was excluded from revaluation, although its existing values were to be included in the new valuation lists. Similarly all existing agricultural buildings (which were also derated) were to be included in the new lists at their existing values, those values having already been segregated for the purpose of derating in the year 1928. Railway hereditaments were the subject of separate legislation closely resembling that in force in Great Britain. The problem to be faced therefore was to provide machinery for making a completely new valuation of all property except agricultural land, agricultural buildings and railways, these latter classes of hereditaments being merely incorporated in the new lists.

Here it is necessary to glance briefly at the historical background and at the nature of the administrative machinery already in existence.

In Ireland, unlike the rest of the United Kingdom, the preparation and revision of Valuation Lists had always been undertaken by one central authority, the work being entrusted to a Government official, the Commissioner of Valuation, whose powers and duties were clearly defined by statute. The first General Valuation of Ireland as a whole was made by Sir Richard Griffith under the Act of 1852, and his work remains in force to a large extent down to the present day. Even in Northern Ireland, outside the City of Belfast, it is "Griffith's Valuation" of agricultural land which still appears in the Valuation Lists. The local authorities were not brought into the scheme except to a limited extent in regard to the publication of Valuation Lists, the transmission of appeals and the initiation of revision, as will appear hereafter. At no time had they any control over the making or amending of valuations nor have they any at the present day.

Having completed his general valuation the Commissioner of Valuation transmitted copies of the Valuation Lists to the local authorities, by whom they were made available for public inspection, and through whom any person aggrieved by any of their contents could serve upon the Commissioner a notice of the grounds of his grievance. This procedure had the appearance of being an appeal from the Commissioner to the Commissioner against his own valuation but was in reality an application for personal reconsideration by the Commissioner of a valuation made by his subordinate. There was statutory direction that the Commissioner should enquire into every such application and provision that on the report of a valuer or surveyor, who had not been employed in making the original valuation, he should have power to make any required amendment. On the publication of the Commissioner's decisions on these applications (known as "First Appeals") the applicants and the rating authorities had a right of appeal to the Court of Quarter Sessions, whose decision was final on questions of fact but subject to appeal to the High Court on a question of law.

By a later statute of 1854 provision was made for an annual revision of all hereditaments the limits of which might have become altered or the annual value of which was liable to frequent alteration. For this purpose the duty was laid upon the rate collectors of compiling a list of such hereditaments and of delivering such lists to the local authority. Ratepayers similarly were empowered to make out and deliver such lists, and all the hereditaments therein mentioned, together with those mentioned by the rate collectors, were entered on one complete list by the local authority and sent to the Commissioner of Valuation, who proceeded to revise the valuations. The Commissioner's juris-

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diction to revise was strictly limited to the hereditaments contained in the lists supplied to him, which in practice comprised only cases of changed limits, new or structurally altered premises, or complaints by ratepayers of excessive valuations. On completion of the revision of the Valuation Lists each year all the appeal procedure already outlined (First Appeal, Quarter Sessions and High Court) applied to the revised items in the same way as it had applied to the original general valuation, and it still so applies in Northern Ireland under the Act of 1932.

It was contemplated by the Act of 1852 that there might be a general revaluation at intervals of fourteen years, but this could only be done on the initiative of the County Authority. So far as the territory of Northern Ireland is concerned no such general revaluation was made except in the case of the County Borough of Belfast, where a complete new Valuation List came into force in 1906 after the extension of the city boundaries. With that exception all Northern Ireland property remained subject to the original Griffith's Valuation as amended by annual revision until the recent valuation issued in 1935.

The proposal to carry out a general revaluation met with a considerable amount of opposition from the community. Although it would result in a more equitable distribution of the burden of rates it would also result in an increase in the amount of Schedule A Income Tax. The Government of Northern Ireland, however, had no choice in the matter, as successive Chancellors of the Exchequer had become increasingly restive under the thought of Income Tax being assessed on an obsolete Valuation List and had made such forceful representations to the Minister of Finance from time to time that a general revaluation became inevitable.

At this point it may be of interest to pause and consider the Irish valuation system as compared with the British. Viewed in the light of the foregoing brief outline its advantages or disadvantages will be apparent to anyone acquainted with British rating law and practice. It is no doubt a distinct advantage that, when the area to be dealt with and the volume of work permit, the work of valuation should be under one central control. It is also an advantage that it should be directed by one independent official whose sole duty it is to estimate values as closely as possible in accordance with the statutory definition, and who is not concerned with either rating or taxation. Moreover, control by one individual is of immense advantage in the effort to obtain uniformity of valuation standards, the attainment of which causes so much anxiety to English valuation authorities.

The Irish valuation system has on the whole worked well. Where it has failed its failure has been due not to any defect in the system itself but to the neglect of opportunities of periodical revaluation. The machinery of annual revision is quite inadequate to deal with changes of value occurring during a long period of time and indeed was not designed for that purpose. Local authorities restricted their attention largely to cases of structural changes. Ratepayers insisted on valuations being reduced in conformity with falling rental values, but naturally would not call attention to any increase in values. Nevertheless successive Commissioners of Valuation were faced with the difficulty of annually revising valuations to be fitted in place in a list which was becoming increasingly out of date. The results varied according to the individual's temperament or degree of courage in his administration or disregard of statutory provisions. He would be a bold man who would apply the statutory definition of net annual value in all its purity to the making of

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a valuation, in the twentieth century, which had to be fitted into a Valuation List containing a patchwork dating from the middle of the nineteenth.

The Government of Northern Ireland in embarking on its policy of general revaluation preserved all the salutary features of the old system and remedied its defects by adopting the English system of quinquennial revaluations.

Coming now to the preparation of the first general revaluation it is obvious that the Commissioner had before him a list which was hopelessly out of date and full of anomalies and must therefore be disregarded as affording any indication of values. He had nevertheless a valuable framework provided by the work of his predecessors on which to build his administrative structure.

Irish valuation lists are made out according to Counties, subdivided into Rural Districts, Electoral Divisions and Townlands. County Boroughs and Urban Districts are subdivided according to Wards. The Parish as an administrative unit no longer exists.

The townland is a denomination of land peculiar to Ireland and is of considerable administrative value. It varies very widely in extent and may contain anything from fifty acres to five hundred acres. Its boundaries, however, are defined on the Ordnance Survey and its name and area are engraved on the maps. For the purpose of referencing or identification therefore, the townland forms a most valuable unit. In the original Griffith's valuation each holding of land was numbered in its townland and the areas computed to agree with the total shown on the map. Moreover, the boundary of each holding was marked in red on maps of the 1:10,560 scale, while town and city holdings were similarly surrounded by a red line on 1:1,056 maps and numbered according to streets. These maps had been revised from year to year and formed a valuable record of changes and developments over a long period. Enlargements of congested areas had been prepared on the 1:2,500 scale on the publication of that survey and the 1:1,056 records were gradually replaced by maps on the 1:1,250 scale. In addition there was also available a mass of material in the shape of plans and measurements of buildings which had been the subject of previous valuations. Fortunately it had been the practice for many years to survey all but the smallest properties coming under review in the course of annual revision.

With this foundation on which to build, the first step was to set a large clerical staff at work on the preparation of loose-leaf note-books for the use of valuers, a separate leaf being prepared for each valuation appearing in the existing Lists. As a preliminary all existing valuations were numbered serially by Electoral Divisions or Wards. A simple form of loose-leaf of convenient size for the pocket was designed. On its face at the top of the form the clerical staff transcribed the particulars appearing in the Lists, sufficient space being left for changes to be made by the valuer. Below these entries there was space left for the valuer's notes and calculations, and the back of the form was square ruled to provide for sketch-plans and schedules of measurements. This foundation form, known as R.V.1, of course only afforded space for details of the thousands of smaller cases, the larger properties requiring their individual files with schedules and plans. The form R.V.1 was not in the ordinary sense of the word an official record as it became in reality a page from the valuer's personal note-book. It did serve, however, in every case after the valuer had finished with it, as a record of the final result, setting out reference numbers, occupiers' names, description of property and amount of valuation, ready for transfer by the clerical staffs to the new Lists.

Treading on the heels of the clerk came the draughtsman, who transferred to the forms R.V.1 such sketch-plans and measurements as were available in office records. Some of this work naturally proved to be redundant as the

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valuer found it necessary in cases requiring amendment or regrouping to make an entirely fresh survey, but in the main it proved useful material. The draughtsman had also been at work preparing a complete set of revaluation maps which the valuer in due course would amend to correspond with the hereditaments as they would finally appear in the new Lists, the existing set of maps being used only as a record of the work in the existing Lists, the annual revision of which was carried on side by side with the preparation of the Revaluation Lists.

As soon as these preliminaries were sufficiently advanced the papers were handed to a staff of surveyors who proceeded to make a physical check of the more important surveys and get all the material in such shape that it could be handed to the valuer. The less important or complicated cases were left for the valuer to revise as necessary, thus avoiding duplication of inspection.

Concurrently with this preparatory work, forms had been issued widely to occupiers and owners under statutory authority requiring particulars of rent, tenure, etc. At a later date the Commissioner negotiated with various interested parties an arrangement, which subsequently became statutory, whereby he should have access to the particulars contained in all instruments presented for stamping on the occasion of letting or sale. This assisted in keeping him informed of the trend of market values while reducing to a minimum the unpopular system of eliciting information by means of a questionnaire.

Having carried all this spade work up to a certain point the way became clear for the valuer to come into action and the real work of valuation began.

It is not proposed to burden this article with many statistics, but, to give the reader some idea of the volume of the work, it may be stated that there were in Northern Ireland some 450,000 separately rated hereditaments. Of these about 100,000 consisted of agricultural land or buildings only and therefore did not involve actual valuation. The valuer's real work was concerned with the remaining 350,000, all of which had to be inspected and each of which was the subject of a careful estimate of annual value regardless of its size or importance. It will be realised that the smallest of valuations are of importance to the people concerned and that the difference between £10 and £11 may be regarded just as seriously by one ratepayer as the difference between £1,000 and £1,100 by another.

The Commissioner had a comparatively small professional staff sufficient only to deal with annual revision and quite inadequate for the purpose of a general revaluation. It was necessary therefore to recruit temporary staff to the extent sufficient to enable the work to be concentrated into the shortest practicable time. This concentration of effort was important in order to avoid any staleness of valuations at the date of publication of the Lists. As a matter of fact, while some exploratory work was done in 1932, the main attack was confined to the years 1933 and 1934 and the new List was published in March 1935.

The most important of all considerations in carrying out the work was the attainment of uniformity of valuation standards, and the larger the number of staff engaged, the greater was the difficulty of avoiding inequality of treatment due to the personal equation. This is particularly true of work which is of such a nature that it depends not so much on mathematical accuracy or prescribed method as on the professional judgment of the individual.

The organisation of the work, therefore, was arranged on a basis designed to minimise this danger of inequality. The indoor non-professional staff was

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organised under the control of a first-class administrative officer in order to deal with the bulk of the correspondence and all purely clerical work leaving the professional staff free to concentrate on valuation. Northern Ireland was divided into eight districts with a District Valuer in charge of each. Above these were two Superintending Valuers, each in charge of four districts, who were responsible directly to the Commissioner and worked in close collaboration with each other. Each District Valuer had under his control a suitable number of the newly recruited temporary staff of valuers with a stiffening of valuers on the permanent staff who were more intimately acquainted with local conditions and Irish rating law and practice.

In addition to the eight District Valuers' offices, sub-offices were opened in suitable centres within each of the eight districts so as to minimise travelling and to ensure that the valuers should keep in close touch with the areas in which they were working.

The Commissioner and the two Superintending Valuers spent as much time as possible "in the field" in order to co-ordinate the work. The District Valuers were, of course, in constant contact with their valuers either in their own district offices or in the outlying sub-offices. The Commissioner held frequent conferences of District Valuers at headquarters and less frequent conferences of the whole of the professional staff, while the District Valuers themselves held frequent local conferences. It was arranged that each valuer should spend one day a month working in company with a valuer in a contiguous area in order to compare notes, to exchange rental information, and generally to ensure that there should be no inequality of treatment on their respective sides of the fence.

Even with the best will in the world and with the utmost effort it was of course impossible to attain perfect relativity and uniformity in the first issue of the new List. There remained, however, the First Appeal stage with that most useful provision for an exchange of valuers and for a second opinion on each case under review.

Such was the organisation to cope with the mass of the work in the eight districts. Special properties, such as public utility undertakings, were dealt with by a special group of valuers working under one specially experienced valuer under the direct control of the two Superintending Valuers. This same procedure was applied with necessary modifications to special classes of property such as mills, factories, licensed houses and cinemas.

The issue of the Lists, a whole year before they were to come into force, was attended with the utmost publicity. Not only were the usual statutory press notices issued, but the Minister of Finance and the Commissioner both broadcast statements by arrangement with the B.B.C., the one justifying the revaluation as a matter of State policy and the other explaining broadly its underlying principles. Moreover, coincident with the date of publication, individual notices were posted to the occupiers of all hereditaments setting out the figures and explaining the necessary procedure for appeal.

The net result of revaluation was, of course, a considerable increase. The total of the old valuation of Northern Ireland (excluding the derated agricultural land and buildings and excluding Government-occupied and other exempt property) was £3,392,540. The corresponding total in the new Lists was £5,380,629. The County Borough of Belfast accounted for approximately two millions and three millions of these figures respectively. The new total of £5,380,629 was reduced on "First Appeal" to the Commissioners by about £170,000 and further reduced as a result of appeal to Quarter Sessions by approximately £24,000. A certain amount of trimming was necessary during the second year of the effective life of the new List in order to bring other

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properties into line with the Quarter Sessions decisions with the net result that in April, 1937, the total, including normal revision changes, stood at £5,381,103 or at very nearly the same figure as that published in 1935.

The disclosure of the figures in the new Lists undoubtedly came as a shock to the general public and called forth a mild storm of protest in the press and public gatherings. Perhaps quite naturally ratepayers insisted on regarding the figures in the light of increased valuations and on considering them in terms of their probable effect on demands for rates and taxes rather than enquiring into their statutory correctness.

The Commissioner had to meet a considerable amount of criticism and even abuse, being held responsible for unemployment, bankruptcy and other evils, including the alleged high rate of infant mortality. However, the storm died down in the natural order of things and the Commissioner had the satisfaction of knowing that, whatever the economic and financial results of his work, he had at least succeeded in producing a List which contained as nearly as was humanly possible a statement of the true net annual value of each hereditament as defined by statute.

In the ordinary course there should have been a second revaluation in the year 1941, but the outbreak of war made that impossible. What, with a country at peace, might have been a quinquennial reassessment of values, reflecting changing conditions with the minimum of dislocation, will now be out of the question for a long time to come. It may be assumed however that whatever changes and developments there may be in rating and taxation matters after the war there will still remain the necessity for a Valuation List and that the machinery already set up will be an asset. It is therefore hoped that this record of the methods employed in producing the Valuation Lists of Northern Ireland may serve some useful purpose. In particular it may be of interest to readers who may have been concerned with the organisation of similar work in Great Britain.

A Reform in the French Civil Service

By PAUL VAUCHER

Professor of Modern French History, London

AMONG the many reforms launched at Vichy it is hard to say what is at all likely to survive the end of the war. We must nevertheless pay attention to the Act dated 14th September, 1941,¹ which defines the status of the civil servants, because it apparently answers a need widely felt in France for a long time.

For nearly half a century the civil servants have repeatedly approached Parliament with a view to have their position ascertained and their privileges safeguarded. However, no comprehensive Bill was ever voted. The reason for such a failure was partly that Government and Parliament both felt unable to put in force the provisions that would have restored in the services the necessary discipline. A preliminary question that was raised consisted in defining the word "fonctionnaire," which has a much wider acceptance than the English words "civil servants." After the last war an attempt was made to distinguish the so-called "fonctionnaires d'autorité" from the "fonctionnaires de gestion," in order to submit those officials to whom is entrusted part of the State's power under special rules. It came to no result.

Meanwhile the fonctionnaires became less anxious to obtain legal protection, as their numerous and powerful unions had already gained for them many advantages that any action taken by Parliament was likely to reduce. In most of the ministerial departments there had been issued orders which made the position of large groups of fonctionnaires sufficiently clear and safe.

In fact the unions were strong enough to disregard the opinion expressed by the Ministers and by their legal advisers, which prevented them from organising themselves as trade unions. This they were eager to do, although it did not materially increase their privileges, because they wanted to signify their solidarity with the Labour movement, and they finally obtained admittance to the central body of the French trade unions, the General Confederation of Workers.

Let us not conclude that all the fonctionnaires shared the revolutionary spirit emphasised by some of their leaders. Most of them, being well aware of the shortcomings of their services, showed a genuine anxiety to take any step that might increase the efficiency of their work. Similarly, the poisonous effect produced by political interference had not yet profoundly affected their deep-rooted honesty. Yet the pre-war years witnessed several alarming strikes in the public services, and the obvious weakness showed by Ministers tended to develop in turn among officials of higher ranks opinions hostile to the parliamentary regime.

Perhaps the most objectionable result produced by the interference of the unions' leaders in the administrative work was to make it increasingly difficult henceforth to reward the merits of able officials, or to get rid of those

¹ It appeared in the *Journal Officiel* of 1st October, 1941, and was reprinted in full by instalments in *le Temps*, 10th to 29th October.

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who proved incompetent. The rank and file among the personnel was always inclined to back the claims of seniority and to support colleagues who got into trouble. Thus a growing irresponsibility made bureaucracy more cumbersome. Hence the demand for holding officials responsible for their mistakes, which Marshal Pétain in 1940 pledged himself to satisfy.

The first part of the Act of 14th September, 1941, lays down "general principles." The Act applies to all "civil" officials, but not to members of the forces and only to the directors of the nationalised industrial and commercial undertakings. Officials are submitted to special duties, either defined in the terms of their appointment or later on enforced by Act of Parliament or by ministerial orders. While on duty they will not take part in any demonstration not related to their work and, while out of duty, they cannot engage in "any activity incompatible with the maintenance of the existing institutions or the requirements of their service." If they disapprove of the orders issued by superior officials, it is their duty to lay their reasons before them, but they must afterwards abide by their decisions (Article 13).

Any action taken on their part that would lead to an interruption in their work will be deemed a very serious breach of their most essential duties. When taken jointly by several officials it will involve the loss of all their privileges (Article 17).

All officials must remain in active service for at least eight years. Permission to retire at an earlier stage will only be granted on serious grounds, such as ill-health (Article 8). No official can at the same time undertake any other paid work (Article 19). For five years following their resignation or retirement they will not engage on any outside activity in any way related to their former duties (Article 9).

Officials are held responsible for their own mistakes and for those committed by subordinate officials working under them; but any fine to which they may be condemned would have to be paid for by the State (Article 26).

As regards the unions formed by fonctionnaires, Article 22 states that they are entitled to represent the professional interests of their members in so far as those are not detrimental to the general interests of the country. Their rules must be submitted for approval to the Ministers if they in any way differ from a model draft made by the Council of State. The leading members of the unions (chairmen, secretaries) cannot remain in office for more than five years (Article 106).

Such unions are entitled to raise subscriptions and to possess any property necessary to their object. They are legal entities able to take action before the Courts of Justice and the Council of State in order to defend the joint interests of their members (Articles 108 and 109).

Only those officials who belong to the same branch of the administrative services and are "holding posts of similar importance" are allowed to form a union between themselves. A Secretary of State may nevertheless grant permission to the unions existing in his department to join hands (Article 107). But the membership must not extend to officials of other ministerial departments and, of course, the unions cannot be affiliated to trade unions or to other outside "associations" of any kind (Article 107). The same article adds another important limitation by stating that all officials are not expected to join the unions and that those who, owing to their position, "directly participate in the exercise of power" are debarred from doing so.

Such are the main innovations introduced by the Act of 14th September, 1941. It contains in addition long provisions concerning the appointment,

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the promotion of officials and the disciplinary measures that may be taken against them. It is indeed interesting to find by now embodied in a single legal text a large number of separate ministerial orders. But they do not involve any striking change in the organisation of the Civil Service. The principle of entrance by the way of free open competitions and that of allowing consultative bodies, on which the representatives of the officials were given seats, to express opinions as regards promotion or disciplinary measures, were already commonly acknowledged. The same applies to the provisions enabling officials to be sent on temporary missions to undertake outside work. The letter of the new Act seems to imply that the promotions will reward merit and will not be granted on the ground of seniority. But it is doubtful how far this will in fact take place.

What above all calls for attention is that the French Civil Service, as compared to the united British Civil Service, remains divided between numerous services, each having its own entrance competition. The higher posts also remain the monopoly of those who passed special entrance doors after having been trained in special high schools. An effort is made to broaden the outlook of the officials by making it necessary for a clerk, before he is promoted to a higher rank, to spend a definite time working in a so-called "outside service." This, however, only means that the clerks of the central offices will have to go to the local offices of their own branch that exist in the provincial towns. It tends, therefore, to increase centralisation more than to favour the moving of the personnel from one department to the others.

We are therefore left with the two parts of the new Act which have been outlined, the one covering "general principles" and the one dealing with the official's unions, to estimate the real importance of the reform. Both are apparently answering demands made at present by a large section of the public. A reconstructed France will need no doubt a more efficient and a more obedient administration. It thus appears that the Vichy Government made a useful contribution to the future. But under present conditions we can entertain no illusion that the French officials remain exposed to arbitrary decisions taken under a dictatorial regime, while many among them are endeavouring by all means to prevent the reforms of which the whole country disapproves from coming into force.

The French Civil Service

By PROF. A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

THE law of 14th September, 1941, regulating the Civil Service of France is confined to civil officials, and includes only the directors of the nationalised industrial and commercial services. The aim of the law is to confine rigidly the activities of those whom it touches, and to assure their fidelity to the State. All activity which might be inconsistent with the maintenance of the existing order is strictly forbidden, and once admitted, after careful scrutiny, to the Service, the official is required to remain in it for eight years. From this regulation exemption is only possible on grounds of health or family considerations, and disregard of this obligation involves loss of all contributions payable towards a pension, and in addition the sums due in respect of the period he has still to serve. Any official for five years after retirement may not, without previous sanction, participate in any work connected with his official status. No official may engage in any industrial or commercial work, hold a private paid post, or perform work for money. This permits indeed the publication of scientific, literary or artistic works. Moreover, this right is subject to the prohibition of any revelation of any matter which has come to his knowledge through his holding office, and no former official may violate at any time this obligation.

Promotion can take place by merit or by seniority; there is no ground to look to any change in the state of affairs now in force. The salary paid to each officer depends in part on the number of his children; the normal is fixed at two, and the officer who has one only suffers a deduction of 5 per cent., which is increased to 15 per cent. in the case of the officer, aged 35 and upwards, who has no children. Similarly, a third child brings 15 per cent. more to his parent, a fourth and any additional child 10 per cent. more.

Curious provision is made for trade union conditions. They are restricted to professional associations of officials serving under the Secretary of State, who can sanction the union of such associations formed within one administrative group. No union is possible with any other group of any kind, and it is made clear that a professional association will normally be constituted by members who are engaged in the same class of work. Regulations will determine what officials are excluded from membership of the associations; the ground will be that their functions, by reason of their nature or of their importance, participate directly in the exercise of the power of the department. The statutes of each association must agree with the model type defined by the Council of State, otherwise they must receive the approval of the Secretary of State, in whose competence the matter falls. He has to accept the officers in active service, who are put before him to control the administration of groups; their tenure of office is limited to five years, and can never be renewed. Associations formed in contradiction of the rules, whose activity would be contrary to the national interest, or the limited purpose assigned to them, are dissolved by decree. Members of the groups dissolved may be fined from 500 to 10,000

The French Civil Service

francs and sentenced to imprisonment for from six months to five years. The directors of associations, whose activities are found to be contrary to public order or the national interest, can be deprived of the approval which has been given to them.

Associations duly formed have civil rights. They can before the courts exercise all the rights relative to facts, which directly or indirectly prejudice the collective interests which they are charged to protect. Similarly they can protect these interests in the administrative courts against regulations, and can intervene in individual cases which have an interest for the collective interests which they have a duty to preserve. Moreover, they are qualified to submit to the Secretary of State any suggestions for the improvement of the organisation or the working of the service, and the Secretary of State is entitled to obtain their views on any matters of this nature.

From the British point of view the effort to maintain control over all those who once enter the Civil Service is a curious feature of the system, and goes beyond anything which is sought in the British Civil Service. The rules regarding the formation of associations agree with the British since 1927 regarding the prohibition of connection between Civil Service bodies and trade unions, but in other respects go decidedly beyond the British rules. The restriction of associations to one service, the limitation of membership by excluding those concerned with the exercise of power, and the requirement of consent to the appointment of officials and the provision for a maximum period of duration of their service, all run contrary to the British system.

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The Professional Worker and the Public Services. By W. G. SYMONS. (Submitted to the I.P.A. London Discussion Group.)

MODERN methods, in war and peace alike, call increasingly for the services of the scientist and the trained technician. The interaction of scientific, technical and social phenomena is leading many scientists to believe that the justification or condemnation of their labours depends on the quality of the social life which it conditions and serves. From this position the urge on the scientist, to share actively the responsibility of directing social policy, is almost irresistible; this constantly appears in the debates of such bodies as the British Medical Association, the Association of Scientific Workers, or, in the ranks of public servants, the Institution of Professional Civil Servants. A recent discussion on this subject of outstanding importance and real authority was that held under the auspices of the British Association, appearing as a report entitled "Science and World Order."¹ The whole report, especially the section on "Science and Government," merits careful study.

If this tendency moved only a limited circle of academic men it would still be of great importance. It is, however, far more than this. In the R.A.F., in the other technical branches of the Armed Forces and in factories, folk are in far closer contact with technical and scientific developments than they would have been in normal life. Organisations providing educational facilities for the Forces are finding a tremendous demand for scientific teaching, but not so much for the teaching of technicalities as for explanations of the scientific method and outlook. After the war there will be a very large number with technical skill and with a considerable, if patchy, acquaintanceship with scientific matters; these people are likely to be a dominating and vocal group in society. A further factor, influencing scientists and non-scientists alike, is the extent to which the U.S.S.R. claims that its progress is based on the scientific outlook. So it comes about that there is among ordinary people an increasing belief that science, even if not the universal solvent for all our social ills, must at least be an important social directive in the future. This belief goes with a healthy recognition that science may be misused by the forces of society. These beliefs are likely to be of steadily increasing importance over the next few decades.

The assertion has been made, and certainly with some substance, that in the present political scene the real revolutionary group is to be found among men and women with technical crafts and skills. This group includes doctors, architects, teachers, works managers, skilled administrators and so on, and has as its nucleus those who have had professional training in one of the pure or applied sciences. I am, of course, using the word "revolutionary" according to the terminology of political theory and not of popular usage. These scientists and skilled folk do not constitute a political party nor do they show any likelihood of adopting methods of violent revolution. They are, however, the group who are most conscious of frustration in the present state of society; they have skill and know how to use it, but are prevented by the forces of society, by vested interests, by needless muddle and by the threat of unemployment after the war—or so it seems to them. It is not so much a question of whether they are right in their social judgments; it may be

¹ Published by the British Association. Price 5s.

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that similar frustrations will appear in any state of society, but many believe that they are preventable, and that belief is the thing which is of immediate importance. So this group is in somewhat the same position as the new commercial classes in the 16th and 17th centuries, as the industrialists in the new manufacturing industries in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, or as the working classes in the later 19th century. They are discontented with the present "régime" and keenly desire change, even if they are not quite clear as to the direction of change. They do not fit in with established institutions. Their relationships with existing political parties are hesitant; they are often suspicious alike of employers and of organised labour. It is, however, fairly certain that this group is likely to have a formative influence on whatever social changes occur during the next few decades.

This is not the place to attempt to analyse the "ideology" of this particular group of people. Clearly one of their main concerns is efficiency—with getting the job done in the best way. That is true alike of scientists, of managers and of competent administrative officers. There is among many a well-developed sense of service to the community—a sense which is impatient when possibilities of service are limited by social institutions. They have a vital interest in freedom, at any rate in the limited field of free research, and free investigation. Finally, arising from their special understanding of the complicated processes and techniques vital to modern society, is the belief of many that they have a key, or special, responsibility.

This change of mental atmosphere is bound to react on the status and character of the public services. The section of the British Association's report dealing with "Science and Government" is interesting on this subject. One of the critical points is how far the scientist will take a formative part in administration or how far he will be merely advisory, providing the technical information which the "administrative" man can use. To quote Professor Bernal:—"Many people—especially civil servants—are apt to think that the scientist is a purely advisory factor in administration. . . . The scientist is asked for his advice. He gives it, and the administrator, using or ignoring it, frames his policy and carries it out. The method has already broken down and is being replaced by another in which science is extending its scope throughout the Government scheme." Or to quote Professor A. V. Hill:—"Drastic changes are needed in the Civil Service. Personal ability and personal integrity, essential as they are, are not sufficient; the outlook, the methods, the organisation, the traditions of the Civil Service must be altered and contact must be maintained with the real world and its methods outside. . . . Science will never be given full scope until a revolution has occurred in the methods and outlook of government itself." Whether these speakers are right or wrong, their opinions are in line with those widely held in professional and technical circles.

The situation is worthy of closer analysis. In the past the typical public servant has been the *clerk*. This is a humble name and has come to mean very much more than it suggests at first sight. An Assistant Secretary of the Civil Service, or a Town Clerk, are obviously concerned with far wider duties than those of merely "writing things down." They are, in a large measure, people who initiate policy, and under their democratically elected masters, determine the direction of the public services. Such folk are not unskilled, but the boundaries of their craft are more or less co-terminus with the boundaries of the public services. There is no one outside the public services who has duties closely comparable with those of a Town Clerk or a member of the higher Civil Service.

Although the clerical "office-worker," whether of high or low grade, still forms the bulk of the public services, the importance and numbers of scientific and professional workers within the public services are steadily increasing. The distinctive feature of members of this group is not that they are more skilled than the clerical workers but that they share a craft with people outside the public services. A doctor, an architect, an accountant or an electrical engineer employed by the

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Government or by a local authority have common interests and common subjects for professional discussion with their fellow craftsmen in other employment. If they are to keep abreast of their profession they must be constantly in contact with other members of it.

The status of these professional public servants tends to be somewhat different in the Civil Service and in local government. In local government the heads of departments are commonly professional workers. The Electricity Supply Department is likely to have at its head an electrical engineer, the Accountant's Department an accountant, and so on. These technically skilled officials are in direct contact with the elected members of the Council. The Civil Service has, however, grown differently. The technical man is usually an adviser rather than a permanent head of a department and there is almost invariably a "cushion" provided by the Administrative Grade between the professional worker and the political heads of the departments. But in both services the status of the professional worker and his relation to the "administrative" official is a matter of active or implicit debate. These changes give rise to three main groups of problems:—

(1) The first of these is recruitment. The classical method of making Civil Service appointments has been by written examination. Increasing weight has been given recently to "personal qualities" as tested by an interview, but appointment still depends mainly on the results of a written examination. This procedure has come in for much criticism. We all know that examinations are not infallible tests of ability; the man who possesses in abundance what has been described as the "low cunning" required to convince examiners is not necessarily the most competent public servant! But this criticism misses the real point of the strict examination system as a method of recruitment, which is that it cuts out favouritism, hole-and-corner appointments, and the danger of nomination by sectional interests. These things have been the bane of almost all officialdom. It is difficult to see any other method of appointment which affords a safeguard against these evils, and only a very great advance in efficiency would compensate for the risk of their re-appearing in the public services.

A slightly different point, but one of considerable importance in the Civil Service, is the fact that the methods of recruitment of the Administrative Grade, as well as of the Executive and Clerical Grades, tend to favour the appointment of those with literary rather than scientific qualifications. This bias may be lessening but it is still very strong. The "public school and older university" tradition in appointments and examination means, not only that the higher civil servants are not recruited from the ranks of technical men, but also that they have rather less than the usual experience of scientific thought and scientific method.

The spreading of the responsibility of the public services is making it essential to recruit a wider variety of professional workers than was needed in the past. The entry of Government administration into fields of industrial and economic control and planning, for example, throws up problems which can be dealt with adequately only by the employment of a variety of technically skilled officials. How are these people to be recruited? If all recruitment were made directly from school or university it would be simple to extend the examination system to cover specialised examination in technical subjects. But that by itself is not enough, for it is necessary to appoint people of high technical competence who have had more practical experience of their craft than can be expected in the person leaving school or college. Methods of selection must be found which will test not merely paper qualifications, but degrees of professional competence. In war-time, normal methods of Civil Service appointment unavoidably go by the board. There will be a strong temptation not to reinstitute them after the war, and this temptation may well be strongest among the scientists and professional workers themselves. Unfortunately, racial memory is short, and scientists in particular do not often study social history. Now that the first appointment of the Civil Service Commission

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passes outside living memory, it is easy to forget what a great step forward in administrative method is entailed. Perhaps the most crucial problem of public administration to-day is that of devising recruitment methods which are flexible and adapted to the variety of modern skills, and yet provide a really effective safeguard of the integrity of the Service. History provides mournful evidence of the extent to which officialdom is prone to lapse into tyranny, corruption or lethargy—or a combination of all three. In the words of W. A. Robson,¹ "Let us remember that an honest and efficient public service is a rare phenomenon in the world and something of a novelty even in England."

(2) The second group of problems relate to the status and separateness of public service. This point has been raised in G. D. H. Cole's recent paper in *PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION*. One of the dangers of the public services is that of recruiting good people and then fitting them into a groove. If a scientist or professional worker is to keep alive and progressive, he must have contact with the debate and discussion of his profession. There is no doubt that the methods and organisation of the Service in the past have not encouraged government scientists to meet and exchange experiences with their fellow scientists working at universities, at research institutions or in private trade. There are some understandable reasons for this, such as the danger of giving away official secrets. But perhaps more important is the fact that officials, and especially younger officials, have not normally had the time, money or encouragement to attend the discussions and to read the publications of their profession and still less to meet their fellow professional workers overseas. Furthermore, and this ground has been well covered by Mr. Cole, the professional man in Government service tends to feel that he is in a job for life, so there is little transference between those who are employed inside and those who are employed outside the public services. Professor A. V. Hill deals with this question directly in his paper to the British Association² and says, "It is essential, if the minds of the scientists in Government employment are to be saved from sterility, and their souls perhaps from damnation, that there should be as little distinction as possible between them and those in the universities, in industry and in other independent institutions"; and he goes on to suggest immediate reforms. From the standpoint of public administration, it is important to realise that the maintenance and stimulation of professional competence and vigour is something different from the supervision of routine administrative efficiency.

(3) The third group of problems is concerned with the relation of "direction" and "advice." Just how far is Professor Bernal's contention, which was quoted earlier, correct? How far is the method whereby the scientist is "a purely advisory factor" inadequate? What should be the relations between professional specialisations and the direction of policy? What some scientists seem to forget is that administration is a craft, less clearly defined perhaps than one of the scientific specialisations, but none the less distinct. In practical terms, a good teacher is not necessarily a good Director of Education, and vice versa. There must be many doctors who are doing administrative duties in the health services and are hence unable to exercise their distinctive medical craft; they have had to learn and are exercising, for good or ill, a quite different craft. Comparison of local government and the Civil Service does not suggest that it is an unqualified advantage for the head of a department to be a promoted professional man, or that the Civil Service device of an "Administrative Grade" is a mistake. Yet Professor Bernal's contention stands. If the scientific and professional man only comes into the administrative scheme as an adviser to a non-scientific administrative class, his participation is inadequate. He is only likely to be called in where a problem

¹ "The British Civil Servant."

² "The Use and Misuse of Science in Government," forming part of the Report "Science and World Order."

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relating to his field already exists, and will not be encouraged to give his mind to foreseeing technical possibilities or to shaping long range policy. There are two obvious lines of reform. First, transference from technical to administrative grades should be made easier. Secondly, something should be done to reduce the "literary" bias of the higher Civil Service, so that the Administrative grade will contain a greater proportion of men who, while not technical specialists, can none the less move easily in the world of scientific and technical debate. Will these reforms be adequate to meet the case, or are more radical changes needed in the relation of scientific work to the machinery of government?

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Reviews

Towards our True Inheritance

(INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE.) IS.

PEOPLE who want to reform the world are a lovable folk, for despite discouragement and disappointment they refuse to be disillusioned and still believe it is possible to change human nature. It is not possible, but for all that these dreamers do great work, for they are like the old alchemists who never discovered the philosopher's stone but did stumble across many other valuable things.

The little reflection above is not prompted either by senility or cynicism but, reading the section called "The New York Debate," I seem to remember identical speeches during the later years of the last war.

Mr. Hallsworth, the British workers' delegate, was charitable when he added to his complaint that the peacemakers of 1918 did not give us better conditions of work and life, the words "perhaps they could not" for there is little evidence that they desired so to do.

Edward Phelan, the Acting Director of the I.L.O., points out that the famous fourteen points contained no reference to social questions. The truth is that the outlook of the leaders at Versailles was purely political and the emergence of the I.L.O. was due largely, at all events, to a series of fortunate accidents. The workers themselves were not enthusiastic about it and it is a little known fact that it was with the greatest difficulty that a delegation from the British Trade Union Congress was scratched up to go to Paris for the preliminary proceedings.

Still the I.L.O. did emerge and, under Thomas, Butler, Winant and Phelan, has done marvellous work, and as Phelan points out, it has immensely widened its scope and no longer "covers the comparatively narrow domain of conditions of work but the infinitely more extensive area of conditions of life." The extension was inevitable, but the pundits of Versailles never realised it, and it is as well that they did not.

I do not quite agree with Phelan that detailed discussion by organised labour was directed almost entirely to questions to the conditions of work, and he seems to be unaware of a series of meetings in 1918 between employers and workers in this country. They were convened by Mr. Lloyd George, who was then Prime Minister, and who, in so many words, promised to implement any agreed policy. A policy was agreed but it went into the political limbo.

In his very interesting article, "Future Policy," Phelan says truly, "Machines which have made possible mass production have also made possible mass unemployment against which . . . the individual worker . . . is powerless," and he quotes a passage from a Report: "The high proportion

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of man's productive capacity now devoted to purposes of war is proof of the tremendous technical possibilities which might be made available to improve the material welfare of all classes of society."

Only one other quotation need be given, and that is from the Atlantic Charter: "They (the Allied Governments) will endeavour . . . to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity." This passage may be commended to a very prominent speaker at the recent Trade Union Congress whose slogan was "Revenge, Timotheus cries," and who called for all sorts of punishments for Germany after the peace. He would also do well to read a little pamphlet by Marie Stopes which is a counterblast to Lord Vansittart. The cry for revenge which will be loud and may be powerful will, if successful, be simply the precursor of another world war.

For myself I am very hopeful, and for two reasons. Clemenceau is no longer alive to poison the wells at the peace conference. He was old enough to remember the horror and injustices of the war of 1870. He blamed the Germans for the Commune and hated them for riving Alsace and Lorraine from the fair land of France. He was the strong man of the conference and knew exactly what he wanted. Orlando was only a "yes" man, Wilson a crank and a sick man, and only Lloyd George was left. He saw the light, but, handicapped by winning a General Election with the twin cries of "Hang the Kaiser" and "Search their pockets," dared not pursue the course he knew to be right as far as he would have liked to do. Anyway he was in a minority.

But Clemenceau is no longer with us, and my second reason for hope is that this war has plunged the whole world into poverty. At the end of the last war the United States, coming late into the conflict, was bursting with wealth, as were the various neutral nations. Now, only Sweden and Switzerland among the western nations are neutral, and both are badly hit. We are all in the same boat, and if poverty makes strange bedfellows it will on this occasion incline them into the way of peace.

My last paragraph will contain a reflection and a recommendation. The first is that, using the term worker in its broadest sense, it comprises nine-tenths of the population of the world, but it has taken two world wars to make people understand that the workers' point of view on all matters is worthy of consideration, while the recommendation is that everyone should read this thoughtful and thought-provoking little book.

G. H. STUART-BUNNING.

Town and Country Planning

By GILBERT and ELIZABETH McALLISTER. (Faber & Faber.) 12s. 6d. net.

THIS book, which contains a Foreword by the Hon. Arthur Greenwood, M.P., is admirably illustrated and appears at an opportune time. One great virtue of the book is that it makes the home the foundation of planning and is written on the basis that planning for post-war England must begin with the consideration of the needs of the family. It also demonstrates that the problems of physical environment, whether for industry, commerce or family

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life, are so closely inter-related as to be capable of solution only by national planning. It records the progress and the errors of a hundred years and presents to the general public a review of the background of knowledge that is common to the leaders of the housing and town-planning movement in Britain to-day.

Reference is made to the Barlow Report and other expert opinion which indicates that it is basic to national planning to stop at once the expansion vertically or horizontally of all the existing great towns. "As the process of decentralisation into new towns and into older smaller towns capable of expansion proceeds, the great towns themselves will be loosened up and great tracts of land in London, Manchester and elsewhere will become available for the replanning schemes which must be carried out if these towns are to regain the dignity and the beauty which ought to characterise city buildings."

The view is expressed that positive planning can be achieved only through a Ministry of Planning operating in turn through regional and local planning organisations and it is recommended that such a Ministry should be advised by a National Planning Council.

A number of principles are laid down which the Government and Parliament are urged to accept in order that planning may be brought into full operation at the renewal of development after the war.

The first chapter deals with physical environment and some of the social consequences. Referring to the sprawling and unregulated growth of London during recent years it is noted that Greater London represents one-hundred-and-twenty-seventh part of the total area of Great Britain but it contains one-fifth of the population and a quarter of the rateable value.

The second chapter is devoted to a description of progress of housing through a hundred years, beginning with 1838 when Edwin Chadwick first shocked public opinion into some recognition of the fearful housing conditions of that day.

The progress in housing made, following the last war, and the subsidies, etc., provided, are fully described.

Other matters dealt with in the book are housing standards and finance, the organisation of the building industry together with particulars as to the operations of Building Societies and of the National Federation of Housing Societies.

Particulars are given with reference to housing between the wars and it is noted that the number was about 4,000,000 and represented the rehousing of roughly one-third of the total population. More than half these houses were built by private enterprise without State assistance.

In a chapter headed "Housing for the Family," the question of cottages and flats is discussed and is related to the decrease in the size of the family. The authors are entirely on the side of cottage building and consider it to be not only more human but less expensive.

A chapter headed "Towns for Healthy Living and Industry," is devoted to describing the principles of the garden city and the development and form of Letchworth and Welwyn.

The development of town-planning legislation in this country is described and the book concludes with a chapter on national planning. In this chapter the main conclusions of the Royal Commission on the Geographical Distribution of the industrial population are set out.

G. L. PEPLER.

Public Administration

The Government of Vichy

By LT.-COL. PIERRE TISSIER. (G. Harrap.) Pp. 347. Price 15s.

COLONEL TISSIER'S book provides a most useful summary of the many reforms that have been launched at Vichy since 1940. It is in a way incomplete as the analysis was not carried further than the autumn of 1941. But those interested in the more recent developments should have no difficulty in obtaining the complementary information they need by applying to the Fighting French Headquarters. Moreover, the initial period of the so-called National Revolution is by far the most important because its authors still believed, or still wanted us to believe, that they were given an opportunity to lay down the foundations of a new order. Subsequently their action was hampered and their freedom obviously restricted under the common influence of Germany's requirements and of the growing opposition of the French people.

The book deals in successive chapters with the constitutional and administrative reforms, with measures concerning the population, natality and health, unemployment and labour, with economic activities in agriculture and industry, with finance, last but not least, with the food problems and the cost of living. In each case, Col. Tissier has precisely and fairly stated what the Vichy Government intended to do; he also did his best to discover what has in fact taken place. But it is often hard to see how far decisions reached on paper have come into force.

Moreover, what is more important and what the book clearly shows, Marshal Pétain, when signing the armistice, firmly believed that the war was nearing its end. Similarly, when he took upon himself the full responsibility for governing France, he expected soon to be able to promulgate a new constitution. Never did he foresee that his National Revolution would take place under German occupation and that his dictatorship would be maintained for so long on an unwilling people. In addition, one has to remember that Pétain after one year's efforts publicly confessed his own failure.

Under such circumstances one cannot expect to find much that is of lasting value in the work done at Vichy. The remark concerns above all the building up of a dictatorship and the confusing reforms introduced in the central administration. The municipal reform and the formation of larger administrative areas again serve chiefly as means to strengthen the Executive, although the different administrative systems applied to the towns and to the rural districts or the growth of regionalism might, later on, be of some use.

The experiments made in corporatism are at first sight more valuable. A closer study shows, however, that their main result is not to reconcile the employers and the workers but to impose an official control on both. As regards, for instance, the peasantry, the free associations such as the co-operative unions are made dependent on the agricultural trade unions maintained under the supervision of Government officials. The new Labour Charter on the other side is intended to prevent the industrial workers from maintaining a united Labour movement, to allow only the survival of professional unions concerned with their own professional interests and to destroy the freedom of syndicalism.

One may indeed admit that some useful steps have been taken, for instance, in the attempts made to assist the farmers, in the field of educational reform and in the building up of a so-called youth movement. On the whole, Vichy has in a way succeeded by taking command over the economic activities of the country in avoiding, so far, a complete breakdown. But all its work

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remains to a large extent artificial. Its pledge to form administrative services more efficient than in the days of Parliament has not been fulfilled and the public does find them extremely cumbersome. While the industrial workers refuse to accept the provisions of the Labour Charter and the Government does not dare to put its scheme of agricultural corporatism into force, the reorganisation of the country on professional lines is making little progress. As a result nearly all that has been done at Vichy and is carefully described by Col. Tissier, may swiftly be disposed of when France is again a free country.

PAUL VAUCHER.

Fluctuations in Income and Employment with special reference to Recent American Experience and Post-War Prospects

By T. WILSON. (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Ltd., 1942.) Pp. x + 213. 18s.

The publication of Mr. Keynes's (as he then was) "General Theory of Employment Interest and Money" marked an important point in the progress of economic theory. Not only was Mr. Keynes's analysis important in itself, but it also inspired a large amount of more detailed work on specific points in the theory of economic fluctuations. Moreover, in the process of defending themselves against the onslaught of the Keynesians, certain economists modified and developed their old theories. The second half of the 'thirties was therefore rich in articles and books on trade cycle theory. The greater part of this work is available only in scattered economic periodicals, and Dr. Wilson has done great service to the student of economic theory by providing him with a summary of recent discussions. But he has accomplished more than a mere summary; he has fitted the various contributions into their proper places, so that by reading his book, it is possible to obtain a coherent picture of the main body of present-day trade cycle theory.

The author begins by sketching the approach of the classical school of economists to the problem of effective demand: he then shows up briefly the modifications that were introduced by Wicksell and his followers, and from a discussion of the "natural rate of interest" leads us on to the Keynesian treatment of interest rates by means of liquidity preference. Special emphasis is laid on the work of Professor Hicks and Mr. Kaldor dealing with the relationships between long and short term rates. Other theoretical points discussed include the theory of the multiplier, the acceleration principle, Professor Hayek's "Ricardo effect," as well as the work of Mr. Kalecki. In the second half of the study, the author applies the theoretical considerations of the first half to an analysis of economic fluctuations in the United States between 1919 and 1937.

The empirical part of the study will be of interest mainly to the specialist student of American economic conditions. Dr. Wilson does not make use of any advanced statistical techniques, believing with Keynes that in assessing the relative importance of several factors "the underestimated power of intelligent guessing" will give sufficiently accurate results. His description of the economic development of the 'twenties and 'thirties is very detailed and he advances some interesting hypotheses about the causes of the 1929 collapse.

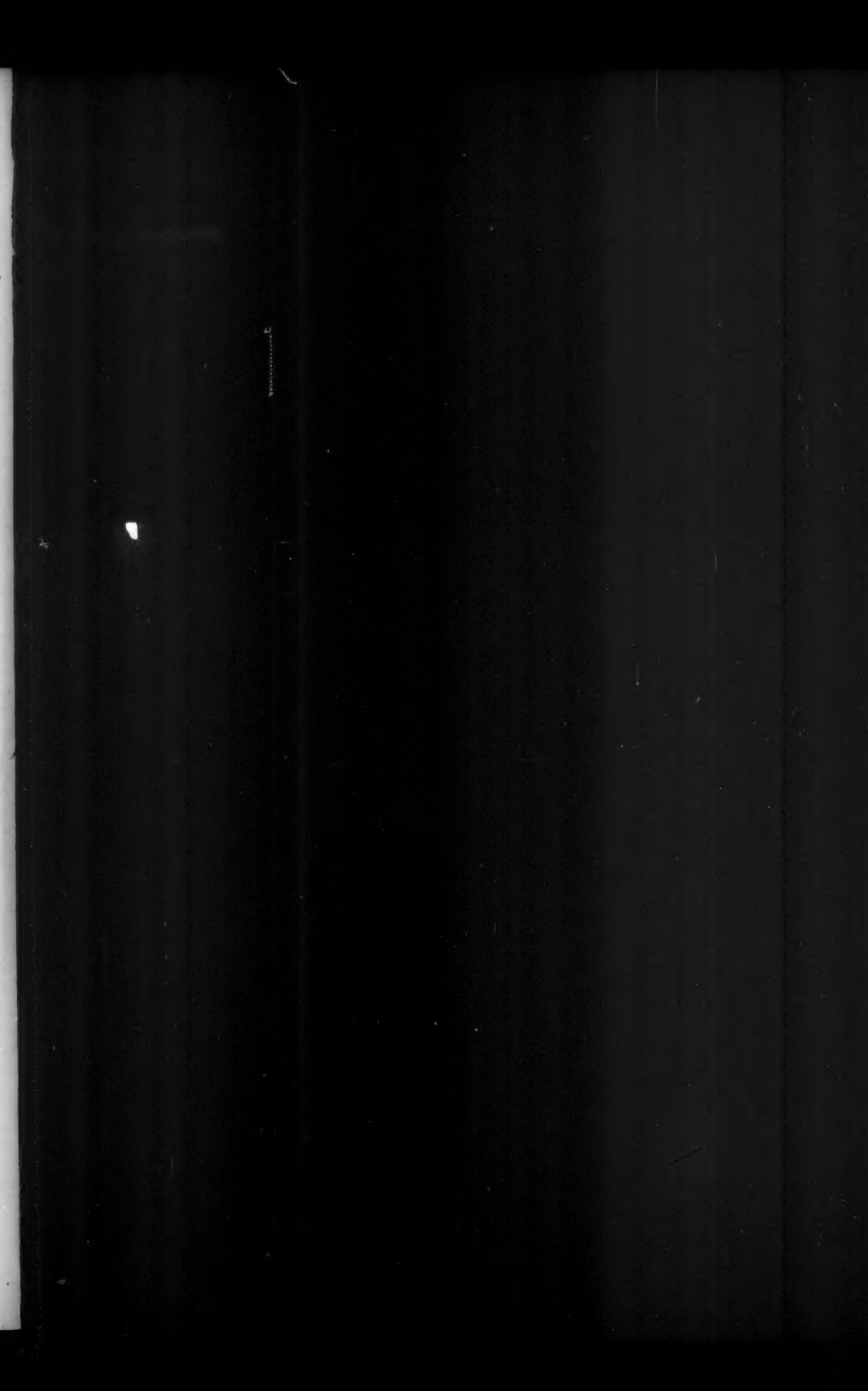
In a final chapter the problem of controlling cyclical fluctuations in the post-war period is considered. It is concluded that there is no economic reason why they should not be eliminated provided that the business world

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consents to a certain amount of State intervention. Dr. Wilson is perhaps a little over-optimistic about the influence that "men of good will" have had or will have after the war.

This short summary of the book makes it clear that it deals with problems which are both important and interesting, and that it deserves to be read by all those who are interested in the modern developments of economic theory. It is unfortunate that the very high price of the book will not be conducive to a high circulation.

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